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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this report is to present work done in the language module projects of the English and German degrees at Roskilde University Center (Denmark). Project work is the essential structuring ingredient of foreign language degrees at the Center. The collection of papers included in this issue attempts to provide information on what has been done in the past at Roskilde University Center. Some students of English and German who have recently completed projects were invited to describe their project work in the form of an article. Each of the articles in this publication gives an in-depth description of what methods were used. The introductory article describes the regulations under which the center operates, and summarizes other projects, so as to present a broader picture of the kinds of topics that have appealed to students. The first article gives an account of the role of schooling in the revival of Irish (Annette Storgaard Jorgensen). The second article, in Danish, describes a study of four female learners of German (Merete Andersen, Esther Gamborg). The third article, "Contra-Reagan," is a discourse analysis of a televised speech of Ronald Reagan's (Mikael Klintorp). (JL)

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papir

Robert Phillipson

and Karen Sonne

Jakobsen (eds.)

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Roskilde UniversitetsCenter

Lingvistgruppen

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Robert Phillipson and Karen Sonne Jakobsen, eds.
Student foreign language projects at RUC

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Roskilde Universitetscenter
November 1988

INTRODUCTION TO 'STUDENT FOREIGN LANGUAGE PROJECTS AT RUC'

Robert Phillipson

with assistance for the examples from Karen Sonne Jakobsen
and Kim Schrøder

1. The aim of this publication

The purpose of this publication is to present work done in the language module projects of the English and German degrees at RUC. Project work is the essential structuring ingredient of foreign language degrees at RUC, just as it is in other degree programmes. When the proposed revision of the syllabus ("Studieordning") comes into effect, there will still be a requirement that students do project work in the language module in *English* and *German*, and it will be possible for the first time to do so in *French*. There is therefore a clear need for a publication which describes current principles and practice, and which provides a brief introduction to student foreign language projects.

This collection of papers tries to give some idea of what has been attempted in the past. Some students of English and German who have recently completed projects were invited to describe their work in the form of an article. Each of the three articles in this publication gives an in-depth description of what was attempted in a language module project and what methods were used. This introductory article describes briefly the regulations under which we operate, and summarizes other projects, so as to present a broader picture of the kinds of topic that have appealed to students. We hope that the publication as a whole will faithfully reflect what the scope of the language module is.

The readers we have particularly had in mind are new students of foreign languages, and students in the humanities "basic studies" (HUM-BAS) pro-

gramme who want a clearer idea of what can be done in the language module in foreign language studies. Hopefully the publication will also be of interest to the general readership of "ROLIG-papir", as it presents some aspects of RUC pedagogy in the area of language description and language theory. The articles themselves exemplify RUC principles in relation to key areas of language research, namely language planning and language in education, discourse analysis and language and ideology, language pedagogy and classroom language learning, psychology and motivation. It is quite probable that the way in which students become competent in handling language analysis at RUC differs from what is attempted elsewhere, where the structure is generally more tightly constrained by course work. At RUC itself there is a need for more stock-taking and reflection on our pedagogical methods, and this can hopefully be promoted by a work which brings together experience. The ROLIG-papir series aims at provoking debate rather than being a definitive statement.

As the introduction has been written by a teacher who is attached to English, the main focus will be on experience in English, but the underlying principles are of equal relevance to the study of all three foreign languages.

The introduction has been written in English. This is partly because I do all my teaching in English, partly because English is my mother tongue. The principle of people using their mother tongue has been extended to cover the examples contributed by Karen Sonne Jakobsen and Kim Schrøder, which are therefore in Danish. The result is multilingual, which reflects our everyday reality and which we regard as something natural and positive. Two of the articles have been written in English because each of the groups of students involved actually wrote their student project reports in English; the remaining one, by students of German, is in Danish.

2. The framework

The official label attached to the language module in English for the past many years has been (in my translation):

"Language description, general and applied linguistics".

Under the new regulations the language module in English, French and German will be called:

"Language and communication".

The emphasis on *communication* reflects a desire to confirm that the module is relevant both to those who intend to teach (and who may have Danish, History, Mathematics or some other school subject as their parallel subject) and those who are combining a foreign language with such subjects as Communication, Computer Studies, Economics, or International Development Studies. The flexibility inherent in project work allows for individual preferences to be taken into account. This means that it may be possible to do an integrated project covering the requirements of the language module and those of a module in another subject (see the Kenyan family planning example below; the Contra-Reagan project in Mikael Klintorp's article initially aimed at integration with Development Studies). An alternative is for a language module project topic to be chosen so as to reflect a general educational goal on the part of the students (see the examples below of projects oriented towards schoolteaching). In each case the project has concentrated on some aspect of "language and communication" and has involved the students familiarizing themselves with some aspect of linguistics.

The focus in the old regulations on *theoretical and applied linguistics* dates from the time when all students were assumed to be intending to become teachers at the upper secondary ("Gymnasium") level. As the degrees in foreign languages now cater for a much wider range of interests, the requirement of language theory is formulated more openly under the new regulations. A further historical factor is that the relevance of theoretical linguistics to future language teachers is increasingly questioned, and applied linguistics can be made more directly relevant by a foreign language pedagogy approach (see, e.g., Færch, Haastrup & Phillipson 1984). Applied linguistics has evolved considerably in recent decades and is no longer seen as consisting of the application of insights and methods from a single discipline, namely linguistics. The Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics defines applied linguistics as follows:

(1) the study of second and foreign language learning and teaching

(2) the study of language and linguistics in relation to practical problems, such as lexicography, translation, speech pathology, etc. Appled linguistics uses information from sociology, psychology, anthropology, and information theory as well as from linguistics in order to develop its own theoretical models of language and language use, and then uses this information and theory in practical areas such as syllabus design, speech therapy, language planning, stylistics, etc. (Richards, Platt & Weber 1985)

The new regulations list three areas that students are expected to become competent in:

– language and communication
– grammar or "language description"
– phonetics.

Although these three are listed separately, there can be considerable overlap and interaction between them. For instance, *grammar* is primarily studied in course form, and competence in handling it is tested in an examination (a written one for German, an oral one for English). But there is an element of "grammar" (which should not be interpreted narrowly) in many project topics. For instance, the study of newspaper language or of translation processes in project form permits insights into grammatical structure to be applied. The length, structure and form of each sentence is extremely important for what is communicated, and grammatical analysis can contribute to revealing something of why the language has the form it does. Projects deal with language in use and can demonstrate how grammatical knowledge can usefully be put to work. In fact, actually undertaking linguistic analysis is an excellent way of becoming competent in handling the concepts and methods of what might otherwise be a rather remote, dry discipline.

The same is true of *phonetics*. This is also studied initially in course form, generally ending in a mini-project task (for instance making a tape-recording of one's own spoken language, analysing this for errors, and explaining them in a theoretically-informed way). For the student who wants to concentrate on pronunciation problems, it is possible to devise project work which explores this in depth theoretically and practically (see the example of Reagan's use of vocal effects in Mikael Klintorp's article). Another approach adopted in a project, undertaken by a group in the spring of 1988, was to

relate pronunciation learning to the psychology of foreign language learning, and within such a theoretical framework to investigate why adults have more trouble in learning to pronounce a foreign language correctly than do children. This involved looking at the evidence of pronunciation problems, which can be described in phonetic terms, and drawing on theory of primarily two types, psycholinguistics and cognitive theories of language learning, and the social psychology of attitudes to languages. (Jensen & Mortensen 1988).

The assumption in the regulations is that project work should demonstrate the ability to analyse language. Language is used for communication in a multitude of contexts. Hence a wide range of empirical material is available, as the project examples demonstrate. The linguistic analysis may focus on "narrow" aspects, such as phonetics, grammar or semantics, or on "broader" aspects, such as the way a television programme or classroom discourse is structured, or the relationship between dominant and dominated languages. The empirical analysis needs to be firmly anchored in relevant theory. "Narrower" project topics may be able to draw primarily on theory from linguistics, though even here it is likely that psychology or pedagogy will be relevant. "Broader" topics will require an inter-disciplinary approach which integrates language analysis with communication studies, sociology and/or whatever other theories are relevant for the analysis of language in the given context.

The separate listing in the regulations of language and communication, grammar, and phonetics is thus administratively convenient, but represents an artificial abstraction from the reality of language in use. It also blurs the extent to which each of the three components draws on a shared fund of theory. On the other hand there is a need for the student to acquire familiarity with the methods and concepts of each component, and to develop proficiency in handling them in relation to samples of the foreign language.

There is a somewhat similar artificiality in the apparently rigid boundary between a "language" module and one dealing with "the social history of English-speaking countries" or "literary and non-fiction texts". As the project examples show, language cannot be analysed in abstraction from its social context. On the other hand, different aspects and approaches are relevant, depending on whether one is concerned with linguistic, social or textual structure. There is a certain logic in concentrating on these one at a time.

One cohesive element permeating the study of a foreign language as a whole is that as students become more familiar with the language, they also become

more proficient users of it. It is therefore logical that their ability to write the foreign language should be built up gradually by using the language as the medium for writing project reports (as the two articles by students of English show). This is a demanding process initially, but experience in English shows that it is group project work, and regular feedback from a teacher on language as well as content, which can result in dramatic improvement in ability to handle the written language competently and correctly. And that is a central goal of the foreign language degree.

3. Project examples

The three articles which make up the main body of this publication will be commented on briefly, after which there follow five summaries which exemplify the range of project work in the language modules of English and German.

Annette Storgaard Jørgensen's account of the role of schooling in the revival of Irish sets out to explore the question of why the Irish language is still disappearing, despite the considerable effort to revive the language both before and after the foundation of the Irish Free State, in particular in the education system. The article presents a theoretical framework for the study of bilingualism and schooling, and the relationship between dominant and dominated languages. This is followed by a history of the Irish and English languages in Ireland which reveals how the English colonists promoted their language at the expense of Irish. Educational language policy since 1921 is summarized. Of particular significance for the maintenance of Irish are both the small Irish-speaking areas in western Ireland and the "immersion" programmes in Dublin, in which English-speakers are educated through the medium of Irish. The present situation is convincingly analysed in the terms of the theoretical framework, and the conclusion is drawn that educational language policy is very significant, but a threatened language needs to be supported by measures in many other social spheres. The students' practical awareness of the issues was greatly assisted by two weeks of fieldwork in Ireland during the project. .

Merete Andersen and Esther Gamborg's article relates how the study of pedagogy at RUC can be combined with a language module project. It describes a detailed study of four female learners of German, involving linguistic test materials and interviews. The study was inspired by feminist researchers who are breaking away from the negative stereotyping of women, and is itself a contribution to "Women's Studies", as well as clarifying the nature of motivation in foreign language learning. It focusses on the identity of the four women as foreign language learners, and the positive effects on them of learning German, both at the level of grammatical correctness and of their personal development. The article presents the theories which were central for the evolution of the project and is explicit about the methods used. The concluding part of the article also demonstrates a sophisticated awareness of how the personal and professional development of the students in question evolved in the course of the project work. It was clearly excellent preparation for future teachers of German.

Mikael Klintorp's article describes a project which set out to analyse what means were used by the "great communicator", Ronald Reagan. What was it in his choice of words, and the use of his voice, that enabled him to him to obtain support for his ideas, even at times from his political enemies? An important speech on the issue of support to the Contras' subversion in Nicaragua was dissected in order to explore what various types of linguistic analysis can reveal about his discourse style. A comprehensive analysis of the grammatical complexity of each sentence was undertaken. A study of prosody (intonation, tempo, timing, etc) revealed a clear overuse of certain vocal effects, as compared with their relative frequency in other discourse types. The presentation of these studies demonstrates how students can acquire proficiency in painstaking linguistic categorisation while simultaneously attempting to relate linguistic forms to their functions. At a more semantic level, the thematic structure of the text was explored in order to relate the specific content of the speech to wider issues. These are of two types: the nature of political discourse, as one domain in which the relationship of language and power is worked out; and the myths to which American politicians refer in their rhetoric.

EKSEMPEL 1. Margaret Thatcher's politiske retorik (Bonde m.fl. 1986, refereret af Kim Schrøder).

I britisk presse forlød det i efteråret 1985, at "Jernlady'en har fået et nyt blødt image". Fire studerende satte sig for at undersøge det nærmere. Var der noget om snakken, eller var det bare mediegas?

Hvordan kunne man undersøge det? Ved at lave en indgående sproglig analyse af Margaret Thatcher's store politiske taler fra de senere års partikongresser, og ved at sammenligne talerne med avisernes reportager om dem. Altså skulle der også indgå analyse af avisartikler.

Først rejste gruppen til London og interviewede Thatcher's PR-chef, dagbladsjournalister og mange andre; de gik på avisarkiver og fandt de avisartikler, de skulle analysere; fik på de Konservatives partihovedkontor udleveret manuskripter til Thatcher's taler.

Hjemme igen gik de i gang med det teoretiske arbejde: Det Konservative Parti's historie, Englands politisk-sociale historie i efterkrigstiden, pressens rolle i samfundet (Bairstow 1985), osv. De var også nødt til at oparbejde et grundigt kendskab til kommunikationsteori (Nordenstreng 1979) og metoder til sprogbrugsanalyse, for at kunne opstille et analyseredskab (Atkinson 1984, Albrecht & Møller 1984, Fowler m.fl. 1979).

Undervejs i projektforløbet skette der visse forskydninger i gruppens interesse: Det forekom mere og mere ligegyldigt, om Thatcher's "image" blev "blødere", og det blev mere og mere væsentligt simpelthen at få kortlagt Thatcher's retoriske stil og talernes politisk-ideologiske profil: Hvordan prøver hun at overbevise den almindelige englænder om, at nedskæringer og autoritær lov-og-orden er nødvendige for at sikre "friheden"? Og hvilken rolle spiller pressen i formidlingen af Thatcher's politik?

Svaret på disse spørgsmål kan ikke opridses i nogle få sætninger. Men samtidig med at gruppen vedblev med at harmes over Thatcher's politiske budskab, kom den gennem detailanalysen af talernes sproglige form frem til en vis omend modstræbende beundring for hendes politiske retorik.

EKSEMPEL 2. "At beherske sproget eller blive behersket af det". Et projekt om tosprogethed. (Annette Jørgensen & Alice Nowad 1988, refereret af Karen Sonne Jakobsen)

Dette projekt handler om tosprogethed hos unge i det tyske mindretal i Nordslesvig (Sønderjylland). Hoveddelen består af en empirisk undersøgelse, gennemført på det tyske gymnasium i Åbenrå. – De studerende havde en personlig baggrund for at vælge netop dette projekt; de har selv erfaringer med hvad det vil sige at være tosproget: den ene som indvandret tysker i Danmark, den anden som dialekttalende vestjyde, "indvandret" til København for at få en uddannelse.

Udover den sproglige undersøgelse omfatter projektet også kulturelle og historiske aspekter. Sprogsituationen i Nordslesvig er meget kompleks og kan kun forstås ud fra dens historiske baggrund, som i projektet opridses fra ca. 1920 og op til i dag. – Den kulturelle dimension fokuserer på: hvordan opfattes tysk kultur og praktisering af kulturelt tilhørsforhold i det tyske mindretal. Her spiller bevarelsen og brugen af det tyske sprog i de kulturelle institutioner, specielt skolen, en central rolle. – Den sproglige dimension omfatter bl.a. diglossien i området: sønderjysk i hjemmet og i uformelle situationer, overvejende tysk i skolen og andre institutioner i mindretallet, rigsdansk i de danske institutioner. – På denne baggrund undersøger projektet, hvilke konsekvenser denne situation har for de unge i det tyske mindretal, der har sønderjysk som hjemmesprog (det er størstedelen) og tysk som institutionssprog/ det sprog de uddannes på. Der foreligger undersøgelser af børn op til folkeskolens afslutning; i dette projekt inddrages de unge i gymnasiet, for at kunne stille spørgsmålene: Hæmmer tosprogetheden dem i deres uddannelse? Har de vanskeligheder ved at klare de sproglige krav, specielt i tyskundervisningen i gymnasiet? Er der en konflikt mellem skolens sproglige normer og den regionale variant af tysk, der bruges i det tyske mindretal? Som et problem eller som en styrke? – Hvordan ser en positiv selvbevidsthed som tosproget ud? Hvordan kan den styrkes gennem undervisning? Ved at inddrage unge i gymnasiet er det muligt i højere grad at komme ind på *sprogbevidstheden* end tidligere undersøgelser, idet projektet går ud fra, at unge i den alder begynder selv at reflektere over og forholde sig til deres kulturelle, uddannelsesmæssige og sproglige situation, ikke kun som deres forældres men også som deres eget valg.

Metodisk består undersøgelsen af 2 dele: en analyse af et lille antal tyske stile, af gymnasieelever med sønderjysk hjemmesprog, med lærerens rettelser/ kommentarer. Her analyseres elevernes tysksproglige kompetence på forskellige niveauer, i lyset af resultater fra tidligere undersøgelser og i lyset af

den norm, rettelser er udtryk for. Stilanalysen følges op af et interview med eleverne om deres egen holdning til det at være tosproget og deres vurderinger af den uddannelse og undervisning de får, og af et interview med læreren.

EXAMPLE 3. The population question in the operation of imperialism – who is interested in whose fertility and why? (Buch & Packness 1988).

This was a an integrated project for students of International Development Studies, Geography and English. The project analysed family planning in Kenya, the reasons for the failure of official policy of the past 20 years, the responsibility of respectively the male and the female for family planning, multinational drug corporations, and the extent to which family planning in a Western form is being forced onto Kenyans in totally different cultural conditions. The theories and methods of the English language module contributed to the analysis in two main ways. First, a textual analysis of a Kenya government official planning paper, published in a popular weekly magazine, was undertaken. Second, the role of English in Kenyan society was studied and the way in which languages operate to maintain the power structure. Running through both these issues was a concern to analyse and explain how members of the elite, the dominant group, are able to use language to assert and maintain their power over the masses. During fieldwork in Kenya, a number of interviews were made with Kenyan women of the Kamba ethnic group, in order to find out at grassroots level the attitude of people to family planning.

The textual analysis drew on theories of language and power which attempt to relate linguistic categories to social structure (eg Fowler 1985). It demonstrated, along a number of parameters, that the State was invariably referred to positively, as an "authority" which knew how social goals could be achieved. The broad mass of the population on the other hand was projected as being irresponsible and ignorant. They were therefore blamed for the failure of earlier policies. In this way the dominant group reserves to itself the right to define another group's experience and in so doing attempts to legitimate its dominance. In this process the English language plays an important role, because access to power, particularly through the education system, in which English is the medium of education from the very early classes, is crucially dependent on proficiency in English. The dominant position of English

goes back to the colonial period, and has been consolidated since "independence" (see the powerful analyses of cultural imperialism of the Kenyan writer Ngũgĩ, e.g. Ngũgĩ 1986). The position of English can be analysed with the help of theories of language and societal power and of how less powerful languages are discriminated against (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas 1986). The Kenyan policy paper itself was not merely written in English, but in complex, abstract language which further restricts its readership. Analysis of the social function of the text enabled the project group to draw conclusions on how social structure is reproduced at a variety of levels. The sociolinguistic analysis is successfully integrated into the geographical data on population and the overall analysis of family planning as one symptom of Western-inspired "modernization". The report unravels some of the complexities of a very unjust society with close links to the West.

EXAMPLE 4. The communication strategies of a group of Danish 16-year-olds (Andersen, Jørgensen & Ostenfeld-Møller 1988).

This project group included students who regard themselves as future teachers of English. They therefore chose to work with a topic which would equip them with detailed understanding of some characteristics of the language of learners of English. After seeing some videotapes of Danes communicating with native speakers of English, collected as part of the PIF project in Copenhagen (see Færch, Haastrup & Phillipson 1984), the group decided to make a study of part of this empirical material. How and why do people get into trouble when communicating in a foreign language? What do learners do in order to get their meaning across when they are in linguistic difficulties? There have been a number of studies of such problems in recent years. Competing theoretical approaches (see Færch & Kasper 1983) are partly distinguished by whether the research data are more naturalistic (as is the case with the PIF videotapes) or more tightly controlled, as in laboratory experiments. The empirical studies and theory are generally inspired by a wish to understand more about how foreign languages are actually learned, and to devise classroom activities which can promote good learning.

The group's empirical work consisted of a systematic analysis of four 20-minute conversations between Danes in their first year of upper secondary school ("Gymnasium") and a native speaker of English. Every occurrence of

a communication disruption or "breakdown" was noted, and the type of "communication strategy" used for solving the problem identified. The interesting question then is whether the strategy is based essentially on the learner's mother tongue or on the learner's "interlanguage" (developing competence) in the foreign language. It is only in the latter case that successful communication and the activation of learning processes is likely.

From the analysis it is possible to see how far there are individual differences in strategy use or whether there is a pattern. One pattern that the group did identify was that the frequency of communication strategies increased in several of the interviews in the latter part of the interview. This finding underlines the need to look at the interviews as interaction. It is important to attempt to explain why the native speaker of English and the Danish learner behave and use language as they do. Another finding was that there was no simple correlation between the learners' proficiency in English and their strategy use. Among the theoretical questions that the project raises is the relationship of strategic competence to theories of communicative competence and of foreign language learning, in particular the issue of how native speakers use strategies.

EXAMPLE 5. The murder of a democrat (Steffensen & Windahl 1987)
and
The Zircon affair: a case study in newspaper text analysis (Soltau & Wiener 1987)

Both these projects have newspaper articles as their empirical material. In the one case, the coverage of the assassination of Olof Palme in two British papers, "The Guardian" and "The Times", is contrasted, to see whether different ideologies are conveyed by different papers. In the other, a news story from "The Independent" about a government attempt to suppress press revelations about a spy satellite is analysed from a variety of perspectives, each of which can contribute to an understanding of the ideology of a text.

The Palme project group familiarized themselves with relevant theories of stylistics, "text grammar" and "discourse analysis" (eg van Dijk 1983), in order to be able to analyse the relationship between textual form and institutional context. These approaches were supplemented by more traditional analysis

of grammatical structure and the communication situation of newspaper texts. The analytical "model" assembled from these sources was then applied to each of the nine texts. News reporting, obituaries, leaders and more analytical articles all have distinct origins, characteristics and purposes. Even if the same "facts" are reported in the two papers, the presentation and effect will vary, depending on the placing of the articles in the paper as a whole, reference to sources, choice of photograph, and use of language. For "The Times" it is controversial for a person of upper class origins to be a social democrat; for "The Guardian" what was controversial about Palme was his political line on many significant issues. The detailed study of the texts reveals that "The Times" is more conservative and traditional than "The Guardian". Many aspects of the universe of the readers and the ideology of the two papers are matters that the student groups would not have been conscious of without the insights provided by the detailed textual analysis.

The study of a single text from "The Independent" was structured around a series of textual analyses. The first was a surface structure stylistic analysis (Crystal & Davy 1969), extending traditional categories to include the "cohesion" of the text, or the elements which bind a text together. The second attempted to apply a model from cognitive psychology to text comprehension. For pedagogical purposes, a flow diagram is proposed which could help learners of the language to understand the underlying thematic structure. The method facilitates making a bridge between text and social institution. It attempts to make it possible to chart how the "actors" in the text exercise social power, and how language conveys this. The third analysis probed into the area of ideology and the principles which should govern a "critical" linguistics. This analysis is theoretically ambitious and inevitably somewhat fragmentary and tentative, in view of the complexity of the issue of linking critical social theory to discourse analysis.

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MISSION IMPOSSIBLE?

An account of the role of schooling in the revival of Irish.[1]

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INTRODUCTION:

During the last two hundred years a massive language shift has taken place in Ireland. The reasons for this shift are related to British colonization and its consequences. Irish Gaelic (referred to as Irish) which used to be the majority language of Ireland has become a minority language, and today only the population in limited parts on the west coast and in the South of Ireland have Irish as a mother tongue. Through the shift English has become the majority language, and it is essential to be proficient in English in order to keep up with the development in education, industry, commerce, etc.

At the end of the 19th century an awareness of the rapid decline of Irish developed together with a growth of national feelings, and this resulted in the creation of several movements for the revival of Irish. The most significant of these movements was the Gaelic League which tried to create conditions for Irish to regain its position as an everyday medium of communication for all the people in Ireland. The leaders of the Gaelic League were among those who structured Ireland's language policy from 1921 when Irish Independence was achieved. The belief that no field of social organization is more decisive for language planning than the domain of education is one that is reflected in the way the education system was organized in Ireland during the 19th century under British rule as well as from 1921 in the Irish Free State. To those who were in charge of language policy planning in the newly-founded State it seemed logical to think that since Irish had lost its status through the schools, it would then be dependent on the school system to regain it; through schooling it was hoped that a sizeable number of Irish-speakers would emerge.

When viewing the present language situation it is obvious that the relationship between Irish and English has not been reversed since the Irish Independence. In recognition of the fact that the replacement of English by Irish is a utopian idea, the present aim is not so much language <u>revival</u> as language <u>maintenance</u>: to create conditions for the coexistence of the two languages.

The position of Irish is far from secure though, and it seems reasonable to assume that the successful coexistence of the two

languages in modern Irish society implies quite a high degree of bilingualism. This leads on to the principle question of this article: Why - in spite of the efforts made by the language revival movements both before and after the foundation of the Irish Free State, and the educational language planning aiming at promoting Irish that was set in motion immediately after Independence - did Ireland not become a bilingual society?
This question can be approached in different ways; focusing on the Irish education system we intend to examine "the role of schooling" in relation to the revival and maintenance of Irish.
Before examining "the Irish situation" in order to answer the above question, we should like to introduce a number of theoretical concepts which will be used later in an analysis of the situation of bilingualism-or-not in Ireland.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK:

The roles of Irish and English in Ireland are determined by social, cultural, and political factors. In reflection of this fact, the theory which we have chosen with a view to analysing the linguistic situation in Ireland represents a sociolinguistic perspective. The initial part of the following deals with definitions of the concepts "Mother tongue" and "Bilingualism". Here, the focus is mainly on the problem of defining the linguistic profile of individuals or of linguistically homogeneous groups of people. Subsequently, in "Dominant and dominated languages", the focus is shifted from the individual to the societal level. This part deals with the roles of languages (two or more) within a community as determined by the division of power and resources between the respective language groups. The final part of the theoretical section is "The role of schooling", examining how a language can be promoted or discouraged by the education system.

MOTHER TONGUE: When a child is born and raised in a monolingual environment there are usually no difficulties in establishing which language should be considered this child's mother tongue. If her/his parents, brothers and sisters (and other people with whom she/he has a close relationship) all speak the same language, this language will be the one that the child will gradually learn and come to regard as her/his mother tongue. By learning and using a specific language the child learns not only the meaning of words and the various ways of putting them together in utterances, but acquires also a knowledge of the historical and cultural background

that is shared by speakers of this language. And the sense of belonging to a group of people by way of sharing the same cultural background as well as speaking the same language is an important factor when someone is to decide which of two or more languages is her/his mother tongue.

The question of defining a person's mother tongue can be approached from different angles; in the following we try to account for four different definitions (Skutnabb-Kangas 1984, pp.13-18).

Origin: According to this definition a person's mother tongue is the language which she/he learned first as a child.

Competence: This definition says that the mother tongue is the language of two or more which a person uses most proficiently. But the competence definition is not adequate in all situations; e.g. some people receive their education in another language than the one they learned first, and more often than not they continue to use this second language for professional purposes, because their understanding of their particular field of knowledge has been built up and developed in this language.

Function: The function definition holds as a person's mother tongue the language which she/he uses most frequently. The weak point of this definition is that people are not always in the position to choose freely which language to speak.

Attitude: The definition by attitude seems to be the definition most open to individual views on the question of defining the mother tongue. It says that the mother tongue is the language with which a person identifies. This definition also involves other people's (native or non-native speakers) attitudes to whether a language can be said to be your mother tongue or not. But as with the other definitions the attitude definition is not unambiguous either. Sometimes people are impelled to identify with one language rather than another, as is often the case with linguistic minority groups which have lower status (socially, economically) than the linguistic majority.

BILINGUALISM: The criteria of "origin", "competence", "function", and "attitude" can also be applied as a basis when defining bilingualism, (Skutnabb-Kangas 1984, pp.2o-34).

Origin: A person who is bilingual by origin has learnt and used two languages in parallel from the beginning of her/his life.

There are two ways in which bilingualism by origin can be developed: One is when the parents are native speakers of different languages,

and consistently use their own mother tongue when speaking to the child[2], another is when one language is spoken at home while another language is spoken outside the home, for instance in institutions like day-care or school.

Competence: A person who is considered bilingual by the competence definition must speak two languages equally well, and she/he must master each of the languages as well as a comparable monolingual speaker. In order to measure the competence of a person in a specific language the proficiency can be divided into four different areas: listening comprehension, reading comprehension, oral production,and written production. Researchers who use the competence definition vary in their claims of competence (Baetens Beardsmore 1982, pp.69-98), ranging from a "maximalist" position of complete proficiency in both languages, to a "minimalist" position of only limited contact with one of the languages.

Function and functional differentiation: If we use the mother tongue definition by function as a basis, the criterion for bilingual persons must be that they use two languages equally often. This implies that the bilingual is able to use two languages in all situations. It is not usual however, for bilingual persons to have equivalent knowledge of two languages. There is often an asymmetric relationship between the languages, they are used for different purposes, e.g. one is used in the private sphere and the other for professional purposes. This is called functional differentiation. A closely related term is diglossia which is used to describe a situation where "two languages or language varieties exist side by side in a community and each one is used for different purposes" (Richards et al. 1985, p.81).

Attitude: For this definition there is a criterion of identification as a basis: bilingual persons must identify with two languages (internal identification), and they must be identified as native speakers of two languages by others (external identification).

DOMINANT AND DOMINATED LANGUAGES: To describe the relationship between two languages (or more) within a community it may be productive to use a set of terms which reflects the fact that there is a division of power between the languages, i.e. speakers of the dominant language exercise more power. When the dominance of one of the languages threatens the continued existence of the other language, as is the case with English towards Irish in Ireland, it may be said to be the result of linguicism, defined as

"ideologies and structures which are used to legitimate an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language" (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas 1986, p. 348). The unequal division of power is often reflected in the attitudes towards the respective languages: the dominant language is glorified, whereas the dominated language is devalued. These attitudes contribute to the maintenance of the structure which permits an unequal division of power and resources between the languages, and the inequality is increased when there is a policy, official or covert, to support the dominant language.

The concepts "replacement", "displacement", "neoplacement", and "language/culture maintenance" may be used to describe "the results of the spread of one language/culture on other languages and cultures" (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas 1986, p.348), a continuum going from language shift (complete replacement) to language maintenance.

Replacement is defined as "the progressive but complete substitution of a language or culture in a speech community in all areas and domains by another language or culture" (ibid.). Replacement occurs when speakers of the dominated language shift, via a temporary stage of bilingualism (partial replacement), into becoming monolingual speakers of the dominant language (complete replacement).

Displacement is defined as "a partial substitution in some areas or domains while others are more or less intact" (ibid.). In a displacement situation there is often functional differentiation between the languages. The displacement situation can be stronger or weaker according to the function of the respective languages and to the attitudes connected with them.

Neoplacement occurs "when a totally new social function is introduced into a community from a foreign language/culture" (ibid. pp.348,349). A much used example of neoplacement is computer technology that operates through English in most countries.

Language/Culture maintenance: In a community where the use of two (or more) languages is unbalanced, it takes a conscious effort to maintain the full use of the dominated language in all domains. Depending on the division of power through structure and attitudes between the languages the maintenance situation can be strong or weak: "In a strong maintenance situation a language performs the great majority of those linguistic functions which are currently in

use in the speech community whose native language it is" (ibid. p.365). "In a weak maintenance situation most domains function in L1 [3], but some of the ones invariably associated with, for instance, technology may lack the vocabulary for functioning fully in L1. Many emergent domains will not be developed in L1 but will be taken over in L2" (ibid.).

THE ROLE OF SCHOOLING: The main focus of this section is to examine how a language can be promoted or discouraged by the education system. Below we will describe three different types of language educational programmes and account for their linguistic and societal goals in communities where two or more languages exist (Skutnabb-Kangas 1984, pp.125-135).

Submersion programme: In a submersion programme the language of instruction in school is the dominant language. The language of the linguistic minority is taught badly or not at all. The linguistic goal is dominance in the language of the majority (in terms of power) and submersion of the minority group or, as is often the result of this type of programme, stratification of the society, because the linguistic minority is at a disadvantage in obtaining equal social and economical rights.

Mother tongue maintenance programme for a minority: In this type of programme the medium of instruction in school is the minority language (L1), whereas the majority language (L2) is taught as a second language. In this way the education system creates room for the minority language to be maintained and developed. There should be no risk for the pupils not to achieve proficiency in L2, because the majority language will have plenty of support from the society outside school. The linguistic goal is bilingualism, and the societal goal is equality and integration. Evaluation of MTM programmes has shown that high levels of bilingualism and high proficiency in both languages can be attained (Phillipson et al. 1986, pp.77-95).

Immersion programme: In the immersion programme children who have the majority language as L1 are taught through the medium of L2. The L2 usually appears to some extent in the children's environment, but it has an inferior position in relation to the majority language. The linguistic aim is bilingualism, and the societal goal is equality and enrichment. The engine behind the immersion programme is often a positive attitude to bilingualism, and the pupils are usually encouraged by their family and by the society outside school.

In relation to the three types of language educational programmes

mentioned above it is important to note that none of them are likely to succeed on their own account. For the realization of the linguistic and societal goals a number of factors have to be considered: organizational, pedagogical and social factors like competent teachers, adequate teaching materials, the background and motivation of the pupils, etc.

IRISH AND ENGLISH IN IRELAND BEFORE 1921:

The following account of the period before the Irish Independence in 1921 serves to give a view of the development of the language situation in Ireland in a historical perspective.

The Irish language until the 16th century: Irish Gaelic is a Celtic language, and it is related to the other Celtic languages: Welsh, Cornish, Scottish Gaelic, Manx and Breton.

During the 6th century the oral tradition of the native learned class (prose and poetry based on mythology, tales and legends) began to be written down, and contemporary poets and missionaries wrote down religious hymns and elegies, some of which survive today. When the Viking raids began at the end of the 8th century a vernacular literature, firmly based on the spoken language, had emerged. But the Vikings hit hard at the monasteries, and the literary evolution was interrupted, as the learned class of the monasteries was scattered all over Ireland and many scholars fled abroad (Greene 1977a,p.1066). The period between 900 and 1200 was a muddle as far as a literary language is concerned. There are some examples of vernacular literature from this period, but they are far from being as standardized as the documents from the Old Irish period (600 - 900). The 12th century was a period of great cultural development in Ireland, and at the end of that century a standard literary language emerged again. Although based on the vernacular, the literary norm of early Modern Irish (1200 - 1600) was autonomous of the contemporary regional varieties of the spoken language, a fact that may be explained by the autonomy of the professional literati from the temporal society.

An interesting course of events when dealing with the evolution of Irish during the early Modern Irish period is the Anglo-Norman Invasion. The invasion was authorized by Henry II in 1169, and when three years later the High King himself arrived in Ireland, the country was placed under Norman administration. The main languages of the invaders were English and Norman French. At first Norman

French was the dominant language within the Anglo-Norman towns and territories in eastern and northern Ireland, but gradually it was replaced; in the towns by English and in rural communities by Irish (O Murchú 1985, pp.2o-24). In Ireland as a whole Irish remained the language of the majority of the population.

When applying the definitions of "mother tongue" and "bilingualism", we find that before the 16th century the great majority of the Irish population was monolingual in Irish. However, there was a certain degree of bilingualism due to the immigration of people speaking other languages, e.g. Norse, Norman French, English. In parts of Ireland where the settlers arrived, both Irish and the language(-s) of the immigrants were used as media of communication.

It is not easy to apply the definitions to the linguistic situation in Ireland in this period, because the role the different languages played varied according to a number of factors: the time (when?) and place (where?) are important, and it is also necessary to be explicit about which part of society you are thinking of. We assume that because of the assimilation process (i.e. the dominant language being Irish), the immigrants who came to Ireland in limited numbers after the Anglo-Norman Invasion, settling in rural areas with friendly intentions, would become bilingual by function, competence and attitude (to some degree, not necessarily in the strict sense of the definitions), before they within a generation or two were assimilated completely, and had become monolingual Irish-speakers[4].

As for bilingualism within the elite (in terms of power and status) of the Irish society, we can distinguish between two groups: The intellectual elite, the literary scholars whose knowledge of Irish and other languages (chiefly Latin) was not affected by the settling of other linguistic groups (except the Viking invasions), because it was based upon the written word and thus better resisting the influence of foreign languages. The other group is the elite in terms of power: a) the feudal landlords, who would benefit from being able to communicate with the new-coming settlers, for instance in matters of establishing power- and loyalty relationships, division of land and resources, etc. ; and b) the urban elite that continued to speak English, when during the 15th century Irish regained its status as the dominant language even in communities that had been predominantly English-speaking since the Anglo-Norman invasion: "..in the Pale[5], and in the main towns throughout the rest of the country, there was a pattern of Irish-English bilingualism in which the ordinary people

were predominantly Irish-speaking and the aristocracy and the better educated moved easily between the two cultures" (O Murchú 1985, pp.23-24). But the recovery of Irish was not to last for long, as will be accounted for in the following section.

The decline of Irish during the period of British colonization:

In 1509 Henry VIII became King of Ireland, and brought Ireland formally under British Rule. The Tudor Reign had a conscious colonization policy, the main expression of which was a systematic plantation of English-speaking people to the eastern parts of Ireland. The influence of English was still strongest in and around the Pale, but there was an aggressive Anglicization policy to destroy the distinctiveness of the Irish society outside the Pale. This aim was to be achieved by the Act of the English Order, Habit and Language which decreed that all Irish should do all they possibly could to adopt the English language and habits. All clergymen were obliged to ensure that an English school was kept in each parish and, in case this was still insufficient to root out Irish, all parents had to do their best to ensure that their children were brought up speaking English (Durkacz 1983, p.4).

The Stuarts which followed the Tudors continued the plantation policy, and are responsible for the Ulster Plantation: from 1609 and onwards new settlers, mostly from low-land Scotland, arrived in droves confiscating large tracts of land and expelling the native Irish inhabitants. But even though Irish was pushed gradually westwards, it remained the mother tongue of the majority (in terms of number) until the mid-18th century. During the 18th and 19th centuries a number of occurrences took place that further accelerated the decline of Irish. The Penal Laws (enacted in 1695 to prevent the Catholics from gaining support and opportunity to defy the British colonial power) had ill consequences for Irish in the sense that they seriously restricted the Catholic schools that taught through Irish and Latin. During the 18th century English established its position as the language of government and public institutions,as well as being the language of the upper classes. In this way English became associated with prosperity and high social status, whereas Irish remained the language of the peasantry and the working classes and became thereby associated with poverty and backwardedness.

The status of Irish was further diminished after the Act of Union in 1801 which made Ireland part of the United Kingdom. The fact that there were still substantial numbers of Irish-speakers[6] did not

affect the status of Irish, since "..these Irish-speaking masses were without economic and political power, and had no means of determining their own destiny" (O Murchú 1985, p.26).

The School Act of 1831 was another important factor. The purpose of this Act was to "nationalize" and make uniform all the different forms of schools that existed prior to the Act. In the new National Schools Irish had no formal existence, neither as a subject nor as a medium of instruction.

The Great Famine in 1846-48 had serious consequences for Ireland as a whole, but it was the poorest parts of the population that suffered the most seriously. In 1841 an official census had been taken in which the figure for the total population was 8,175,124, and when ten years later in 1851 a new census was taken, the figure had decreased to 6,552,386. Of the 1,622,738 persons who had been eliminated due to death and emigration during the famine years, a very large number came from the Irish-speaking part of the population, and the results were obvious in the 1851 census which was the first to include language questions: "only 5 per cent of the population described themselves as monolingual Irish-speakers, and a further 23 per cent described themselves as bilingual" (MacNamara 1971, p.65). Thus the language shift which began as a process of displacement (functional differentiation between Irish and English for people who had Irish as their mother tongue) was completed for large parts of the population by the middle of the 19th century. It seems that the replacement of Irish is the result of both overt structural conditions favouring English, as well as the successful imposition of an ideology devaluing the Irish language and culture.

We find it relevant at this point to reflect upon our main question: "Why did Ireland not become a bilingual society?", because it seems that the linguistic reality in the 19th century was that the former Irish-speaking population was becoming monolingual English-speakers through a temporary stage of bilingualism.

A sensible question to ask in this connection would be then:"Why was the ability to speak (use) Irish not maintained along with the increasing ability to use English? Why was this level of bilingualism not maintained?" The answer may be found in the following: "Events proved that the cardinal error of (..) the educational policies pursued in Ireland and Wales, was [their] opposition to any form of bilingual education. The tragic waste of educational and cultural opportunities incurred through such political prejudice is a large

part of the subsequent history of the Celtic languages. Because the times allowed no political or religious compromise, no cultural or linguistic compromise was possible either." (Durkacz 1983, p.5).

This brings into focus the role of the education system. The overt form of linguicism can be exemplified in the legislation for the education system; Irish had no formal existence in the official schools from the Tudor period and onwards. The Penal Laws can be regarded as an extreme expression of this discrimination: during the Penal days it was forbidden to be a teacher of Irish or to initiate an Irish-medium school, and the development of teaching materials in Irish was also out of the question. When the Penal Laws were abolished, a covert form of linguicism occurred instead, in that Irish was de facto excluded from the schools, and consequently there was no provision for Irish-teachers or teaching materials in Irish. As far as we can estimate, the covert form of linguicism was in function until the late 19th century, when language revival movements emerged and drew attention to the necessity of preserving the Irish language. In 1878 The Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language achieved some recognition for Irish as an optional subject in the intermediate schools. But still both overt and covert structures to further the replacement of Irish were in action as long as the British hegemony was maintained in Ireland.

Language revival movements before the Irish Independence:

In the late 19th century a debate about the position of Irish caused the first language revival movements to emerge. Based on the idea that Irish should be preserved and the use of it gradually extended, The Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language was founded in 1876. Three years later it merged with The Gaelic Union which was concerned with the teaching of Irish and publishing of Irish literature. In 1883, promoted by an editor of The Gaelic Journal, a new movement emerged: The Gaelic League. The main issue of the Gaelic League was the revival of Irish as the vernacular of the entire Irish population, and the creation of a new Irish-medium literature. Analogous to the foundation of the Gaelic League, an Irish literary movement as well as an Irish revolutionary movement were established. It is no coincidence that many of the leaders of the Gaelic League were also main figures in both the literary and the revolutionary movement, and they seemed to cooperate in the process of creating a new Irish national identity. Within a relatively short period the Gaelic League became a kind of

institution. It extended its area of operation and took over the publication of the Gaelic Journal and a couple of language periodicals. From 19oo it started publishing works of fiction as well. The strategy was to establish a network of adult classes and extend branches of the League throughout the country, in order to actually teach the Irish language and draw attention to the issue of language revival. By 19o4 the Gaelic League had 15o full-time travelling teachers and 593 branches. The objective that Irish should be reestablished as the majority language in Ireland was meant to be achieved to a large extent through the National Primary Schools. "The educational policy of the League was twofold. It demanded that, where Irish was the home language, pupils should be taught to read and write Irish and that a knowledge of English and other subjects should be imparted through the medium of Irish. Where Irish was not the home language, it should be lawful to teach Irish as a remunerated subject within the school hours and at the earliest stage at which the children were capable of learning it" (O Cuív 1969, p.97). This seems a rather radical policy when considering the fact that when the Gaelic League was founded, 85% of the people in Ireland could not speak Irish.

After Independence the Government contained members of the Gaelic League, and it became a government concern to carry out to a large extent the policy promoted by the League, the linguistic aim being complete replacement of English by Irish.

IRISH EDUCATIONAL LANGUAGE POLICY 1921-87:

After Independence the education system was given the task of reversing the linguistic situation: to arrest the replacement of Irish , and to promote Irish in every area of use to make it the general medium of communication in the Republic of Ireland. This demanded that the education system was to provide the population with an ability to use Irish, as well as educating it to believe that Irish was to have at least the same status and degree of use as English. To accomplish this Irish was given a very central position in the education system, as it became a compulsory subject, if not the sole medium of instruction. One of the first acts passed by the new national government served to adopt its primary education system into a vehicle for the restoration of Irish: "The Irish language be taught, or used as a medium of instruction, for not less than one full hour each day in all primary schools where there was a teacher competent to teach it" (MacNamara 1971, p.7o).

This act was expanded in 1925 as a result of a demand from the Irish National Teachers Organisation (INTO): "The use of Irish as a teaching medium be extended as far as possible" (Ibid.).
In practice this implied that other subjects, such as history, geography, singing, physical training, etc., should be taught through Irish. The extension of the teaching through Irish also meant that it was not limited to the infant classes only. To meet the demands of the new educational policy the government took measures to improve the level of competence of the teachers in Irish. This was done partly by training at summer courses, and by recruiting primary school teachers from the Irish-speaking areas, the "Gaeltacht".
In 1926 the first of six preparatory colleges was established that was run entirely through the medium of Irish.
During the 193o's the compulsory aspect of the teaching of Irish was intensified. In 1933 Irish became a compulsory subject for all pupils in recognized post-primary schools, and a pass in Irish was required to qualify for an overall pass in state examinations. Specific grants were made to schools which taught through Irish, and extra marks awarded to candidates who took their state examinations through Irish (Tovey 1978, p.18). In 1934 the Department of Education made it obligatory for teachers in all national schools to teach the infant classes entirely through Irish, and it was forbidden to teach or to use English in the class-room. The rule that Irish was to be used as the medium of instruction in all classes and subjects where the teacher was competent to do so, and where the children were able to learn in this manner (MacNamara 1971, p.7o-72). The rule for English was that it was a compulsory subject from the second grade and all higher classes.
During the 193o's the number of all-Irish primary schools increased until in 1939 it reached 7o4. But after that the number began to decrease; in 1944 the number was 6o1, in 1956 it was 389, and by 1966 it was down to 3o9 (Ibid.). This development was due to changes in the Irish society which led also to a change of attitudes towards tha role of Irish in the education system. A survey made in 1941 by the INTO showed that "generally speaking, the majority of the teachers who replied were not in favour of the policy of using only the Irish language in junior classes, nor of teaching through Irish in higher classes" (O Domhnallåin 1977, p.86). The enthusiasm that existed in the first years of independence was not as strong anymore. Maybe the realization that the complete replacement of English was

not something easily achieved (and maybe not wholly desirable either, seen from a political and economic point of view) was beginning to have an effect. The post-war period was for Ireland the beginning of an intensive economic development which meant greater involvement with other (chiefly English-speaking) countries. During that period emigration from the Gaeltacht to urban parts of Ireland and to English-speaking countries (England, USA and Australia) was very high, and that affected the situation in the schools in the Gaeltacht: "It has been estimated that up to the late 195o's as much as two-thirds of each age cohort migrated from the Gaeltacht areas" (Tovey 1978, p.9).

Despite this negative trend, significant efforts went into the maintenance of Irish. In language research there were some important developments during the 194o's and 195o's. The first simplified spelling for Irish was produced by the Translation Office in 1945, and this form of spelling became official in all government departments that same year. In 1953 the Translation Office produced the first version of a new simplified and standardized grammar of the Irish language. Another important step in the standardization of Irish was the "de Bhaldraith Irish Dictionary" which was a work initiated by the Department of Education to modernize the language. Research into language teaching methods was also carried out, and finally a complete set of courses for the teaching of Irish to all classes or age groups, from age five years to age fifteen years, was provided. But in spite of these promising advancements, educationalists were not always in favour of Irish. In 1966 John MacNamara made a survey of the effects which the teaching through Irish was having on the education of Irish children. The results of this research were not very encouraging on the effects of an Irish-medium education[7], and it provided arguments for those who were against the promotion of Irish. It seems to have been largely the element of compulsion that caused the public opinion to turn against the revival of Irish. Another reason for the shift in attitude may have been that Irish was actually a foreign language to the majority of the population, and the benefits (public and personal) of learning the language were questioned. Eventually the non-sympathetic attitudes to the language educational policy led to the foundation of an anti-Irish movement which appeared in 1966, and called itself "The Language Freedom Movement". Its main issue was the abolishment of compulsory Irish within the schools and in other

aspects of life.
The most obvious results of the development described above was the falling number of all-Irish schools, and a general lack of enthusiasm towards teaching or learning the language. From 1973 a pass in Irish was no longer required for the awarding of the Intermediate- or Leaving Certificate. A law enacted in 1925 which said that a test of competence in the Irish language was a prerequisite for recruitment into Irish government service was changed in 1974, and the compulsory Irish competence for civil servants was abolished. Thus the element of compulsion that had come to be associated with Irish was removed, and it was taken into account that the education system alone could not be responsible for the restoration of Irish.
In 1975 the Government established "Bord na Gaeilge", a sub-governmental body which should work for the promotion and restoration of Irish outside the education system. Bord na Gaeilge is engaged in language advice and information, support of local projects, language courses for all levels, the commissioning of Irish literary works, and translation services.
The preservation of the Gaeltacht as Irish-speaking areas is an important issue, because the Gaeltacht is the only environment in which Irish is supposed to be able to develop naturally according to the demands of the contemporary society. The Department of the Gaeltacht was established especially in order to support (also financially) the existence of the Gaeltacht as native Irish-speaking areas, and to ensure that these areas have a standard of living similar to that of the rest of the country. What the Gaeltacht Department aims at achieving is language/culture maintenance.
At first sight it might be assumed that the situation in the Gaeltacht is one of strong maintenance, because it is supported by official bodies with financial means. But our analysis is that the situation is one of weak maintenance, because the impact of these areas on the linguistic situation in the rest of Ireland is limited, and the population inhabiting the Gaeltacht is small and continues to decline. It must be taken into consideration as well that the impact of English is enormous, even in the Gaeltacht.

As an indication of the more recent role of Irish in Irish society we can mention the C.L.A.R. Report (C.L.A.R. = The Committee on Language Attitudes Research). This report, published in 1975, is the most comprehensive research work done yet on the (present) role

of Irish. The research committee was requested to report on:
1. "Current attitudes towards the Irish language and towards efforts to restore it as a general means of communication." (C.L.A.R. Report 1975, p.5).
2. "The extent to which the public would support policy development which seemed to offer a greater chance of achieving the aim of restoring Irish as a general means of communication in a significant range of language functions." (Ibid.).

In the report there is an attempt to estimate the level of ability and use of Irish among the informants. We understand ability and use as synonyms for the criteria we call competence and function, (see above). In relation to ability the findings are: "While the Gaeltacht speakers become fewer, people with school learned Irish become more numerous, even in predominantly English-speaking areas: some 1o,ooo young people aged between 2o and 25 years in the city of Dublin are capable of conversing in Irish, yet, outside Dublin in the population as a whole only one third of the people can understand the language and only one third of these feel at home in Irish. In the Gaeltacht 9o% of the population feel at home in Irish." (Mackey 1977, p.3, referring to the C.L.A.R. Report). Our interpretation of "to feel at home in the language" is that by the criteria we use, these people can be regarded as bilingual by attitude, as they see themselves as having a command at least to some extent of both languages. In relation to the use of Irish: "All in all about 5% of people outside the Gaeltacht use Irish regularly or frequently, while an additional 1o% use it from time to time. What is most disconcerting is the continued decline of Irish as a community language and the increasing use of English between Irish-speakers in the Gaeltacht." (Ibid.). The function (use) aspect is of importance because it reflects the reality in Ireland: there is not even one exclusive domain of life where one absolutely needs Irish, or where one would benefit from using Irish only. Other than ability and use, the research committee also inquired into the attitudes towards Irish. This revealed a drastic change since the compulsion had been removed from the learning of Irish; there seemed to have developed a massive support for Irish, although there was still some "pessimism about the future of the language and a certain disillusionment about the capacity of any organisation, including the school system, to save it" (Ibid., p.2).

The favourable attitudes towards Irish reported on in the

C.L.A.R. Report have caused an interesting development during the late 197o's and early 198o's: while the all-Irish primary schools which were initiated by the Department of Education are falling in numbers in the Gaeltacht areas, their number seems to increase in the Galtacht (English-speaking) areas. The reason for this is that in more recent years the initiative has come, especially in the Dublin city areas, from groups of parents who demand such facilities. This means parents from English-speaking areas who want Irish immersion programmes for their children. The results of the new all-Irish schools are high, both in achieving a high degree of proficiency in Irish, but also in other subjects that are taught through the medium of Irish. It is important to note in this connection that the pupils in these immersion schools are often highly motivated by their parents to learn and use Irish. The parents are aware that English, the high-status language of the wider community, is going to be learned in any case. In 1985 the total number of all-Irish schools outside the Gaeltacht was 47, but the number is likely to increase, as a more wide-spread interest in bilingual education seems to be developing.

The following section focuses on the present role of Irish in primary and secondary education.

IRISH IN PRIMARY EDUCATION: In primary education Irish is compulsory as a subject. All subjects are taught through the medium of English, except to some degree the subject of Irish where the medium of instruction may be partly Irish and partly English. However it is possible to teach other subjects through the medium of Irish if certain conditions are fulfilled: "The use of Irish as a medium of instruction for other subjects in primary school will be allowed by the Department of Education only where the teacher is competent to give such instruction and where the pupils have sufficient Irish to profit by it" ("The Restoration of the Irish Language", Government White Paper 1963, pp.3o-31). The Irish programme used in most schools is a programme based on spoken Irish. All Irish-teachers are provided with the "Nuachúrsai Gaeilge Teacher's Handbook" which consists of 4o lessons for each grade. Within each section of lessons a five-step plan structures the teaching: a) hearing and recognition, b) imitation, c) repetition from stimuli, d) speech mould and vocabulary exercises, e) free creative conversations.

Based on a national survey of spoken Irish in primary schools

(Harris 1984), it is estimated that the total number of hours to which a pupil is exposed to Irish is 1728. This includes 8 years of attendance in the primary school system, because two "infant years" were also included in the survey. It is estimated that the hours of Irish per week in general at each grade are 5.4.

In addition to the primary schools which have Irish as a subject only, there are the all-Irish immersion programme schools (mentioned above), where all subjects are taught through Irish. Some of these schools provide education at secondary level too.

The schools situated in the Gaeltacht are generally assumed to teach mainly through Irish, but recent surveys show that this is not the case in all schools in these areas. Some schools also teach partly through the medium of English, because most of their pupils have English as their mother tongue.

IRISH IN SECONDARY EDUCATION: Irish as a subject is compulsory throughout second-level education, but it is not required that students actually sit for the examination in Irish at Intermediate or Leaving Certificate levels. The Irish syllabus of today is largely the same as the one 2o years ago. The stated aim covers the spoken and written aspect, but the certificates to be taken are almost exclusively based on a written examination. The tendency in secondary education is that Irish is taught with a view to increasing the pupils' reading and writing abilities rather than preparing them for participation in Irish-speaking networks. Some major trends have been found, to judge by an analysis of examination results of Irish in second-level education: With the emphasis on the written language the pupils with high academic abilities achieve better results than the more practically oriented pupils, who often come from schools with a pupil intake from the lower end of the social class scale. Pupils from the group last mentioned tend not to sit for the examination in Irish, and when they do, many of them fail, (Bord na Gaeilge 1986a).

DISCUSSION OF THE LANGUAGE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMMES IN RELATION TO THE IRISH SITUATION:

The language educational programmes that are of interest with a view to the revival and maintenance of Irish are immersion programmes for the Galtacht population, and mother tongue maintenance programmes for the population in the Gaeltacht areas.

In the 193c's and 194o's the aim of the immersion programmes in function was to achieve monolingualism in Irish through a temporary

stage of bilingualism. The recognition of bilingualism as a positive and enriching phenomenon did not exist. What is interesting about these programmes is that, although many of the preconditions to support such programmes were not present (adequate teaching materials, a sufficient number of competent teachers, a defined pedagogical approach, explicit linguistic and societal goals, and active parental support), they did succeed in raising the number of competent Irish-speakers within the school-going population.

The new movement of immersion programme schools which goes back to the early 197o's resembles more the type of immersion programme that we describe in the theoretical section. They have the pre-conditions needed to achieve a high level of bilingualism, and evaluation of these schools shows high results. As the official language policy aim in Ireland today is bilingualism, these schools seem to have a possibility to meet the challenge.

The reason why we think the programmes followed in the all-Irish schools in the Gaeltacht areas can be defined as mother tongue maintenance programmes is that the home language for people in these areas is still Irish in most cases. Note however that we regard the Gaeltacht population as bilingual, at least by the definitions of competence and function. So the way we refer to mother tongue maintenance programmes here is not in the strict sense as described in the theoretical section. It is a matter of discussion if the all-Irish schools in the Gaeltacht should not be regarded as immersion schools as well, in recognition of the fact that linguicism still works to the advantage of English in these areas. We decided however to classify them as mother tongue maintenance programme schools, because of the awareness that exists about the special character of the Gaeltacht communities in relation to language maintenance. Apart from immersion programmes and mother tongue maintenance programmes, the majority of schools in Ireland today make use of a foreign language teaching programme in the teaching of Irish.

CONCLUSION: The revival of Irish seems still to rely very much on the education system. For the vast majority of the school-going population the "one hour a day" phenomenon in the teaching of Irish is more or less a reality. We conclude that as long as Irish stays a mere school subject for most of the Irish population, the chances of achieving the linguistic and societal aim of bilingualism for the entire population (according to any of the criteria we have used)

do not seem very high. The education system can prevent the Irish language from dying out, but the schools cannot and should not be the only "instrument" in the revival of Irish. If the goal of some degree of bilingualism is to be achieved, a bilingual language policy favouring Irish has to be applied throughout the country.

NOTES:

1. : This article is a summary of an English module 1 project report (same title) by Carmit Romano Hvid, Marianne Petersen, and Annette Storgaard Jørgensen, Roskilde UniversitetsCenter, September 1986 - June 1987.
2. : If the parents choose to use only one of the languages at home, they should choose the one that is spoken the least outside the home, as an attempt to balance the input of the languages for the child.
3. : L1 refers to the native language of a person or a community. L2 refers to a second or foreign language.
4. : This is our own assumption of the issue; our sources do not say much about the language(-s) of "ordinary people", there are much more details about the elite of the Irish society, probably because it was chiefly the elite that produced the sources from which researchers have later deduced their conclusions.
5. : "The Pale" refers to the territories conquered by England where the English settlements and rule were most secure. The Pale existed from 1171-72 (Henry II) until English authority was established in the entire country under Elisabeth I (reigned 1558-1603). The area of the Pale varied, but under the reign of Henry VIII (1509-47) it included parts of the modern counties Dublin, Louth, Meath, and Kildare.
6. : The number of Irish-speakers was estimated at 3,500,000 in 1820 and 4,000,000 in 1831, (O Murchú 1985, p.26).
7. : It was claimed that the teaching through Irish in primary schools led to poorer scholastic achievement, and in some cases to retardation, (O Domhnalláin 1977, p.86).

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Merete Andersen og Esther Gamborg

SPRACHE
SPRACHE AN SICH
SPRACHE ALS MANTEL
SPRACHE ALS SCHATZ
SPRACHE ALS VEHIKEL
SPRACHE ALS NARRENFREIHEIT
SPRACHE ALS ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ?

- et tysk sprogprojekt på RUC 1984 - 85

Det er i det sproglige jeg tænker, hvis jeg skal ønske noget er titlen på en empirisk undersøgelse, der tematiserer voksne kvinders motivation og interesse for at lære fremmedsprog. Undersøgelsens sigte er at problematisere traditionelt negative vurderinger, der karakteriserer valg af fremmedsprog som "blindt socialisationsvalg" eller et defensivt fravalg af mere statusgivende fagstudier.

Med afsat i modsætningsforholdet mellem vores egne erfaringer og disse mytelignende vurderinger fokuserer vi i undersøgelsen på kvalitative aspekter af fremmedsprogstilegnelsen, dvs. på det fremmede sprogs subjektive betydning i den individuelle sammenhæng.

Det empiriske materiale, bestående af spørgeskemabesvarelser, fire halvåbne enkeltinterviews, fire tyske kommunikationssekvenser og en gruppediskussion, er resultatet af et samarbejde med fire kvinder, der på det tidspunkt deltog i tyskundervisningen på studentereksamensniveau på Høje-Taastrup Enkeltfagskursus.

Projektgruppe: Merete Andersen, Esther Gamborg, Helle J.Larsen, Inger Bjerg Møller

Projektrapport: Det er i det sproglige jeg tænker, hvis jeg skal ønske noget

Tysk sprogprojekt, modul 1 og pædagogik dimension
Roskilde Universitetscenter, 1985

Myterne og den faktiske fascination - vores udgangspunkt

De første idéassociationer i retning af et socio-psykologisk fremmedsprogstema opstod allerede i marts '83, hvor vi blev inspireret af to gæsteforelæsninger på Københavns Universitet, der begge tematiserede relationen kvinder og sprog. Luce Irigaray, fransk filosof og psykoanalytiker, præsenterede sin teori om det kvindeliges udgrænsning af sproget, sproget som en kønsspecifik, historisk størrelse; Sabine Börsch, psykolog og filolog, fremlagde resultaterne af sit forskningsarbejde om "subjektive Bedeutung und Funktion des Fremdsprachenerwerbs und -studium für Studentinnen und Studenten", en undersøgelse ved Hamborgs Universitet 1980-81, der som den første af sin art, tematiserer kvinders orientering mod fremmedsprog ud fra en kønsspecifik, offensiv synsvinkel.

Udover denne sprogspecifikke indfaldsvinkel blev gruppen ansporet og delvis provokeret af den daværende diskussion inden for den såkaldte 'stille-pige'-forskning [1]. Som bekendt var intentionerne med denne forskning primært at tematisere gymnasiepigernes forhold til fagene i gymnasiet, til undervisningen, lærerne, hinanden, samt den socialisationsmæssige baggrund herfor. 'Stille-pige'-forskningen skal ses som et forsøg på at udarbejde en pædagogik, der som led i en udviklings- og selvstændiggørelsesproces i højere grad tilgodeser pigernes forventninger og evner. Betegnende for den er yderligere, at den fokuserer på 'de stille pigers' valg af det nysproglige gymnasium, der opfattes som 'et blindt socialisationsvalg', dvs. at det betragtes som et fravalg af andre grene i gymnasiet og dermed ikke er et egentligt, begrundet valg. Som sådan derfor problematisk.
Spørgsmålet er, om ikke perspektiverne i denne forskning fortoner sig, såfremt hovedvægten lægges på fremmedsprogsvalget som negativ problemstilling. Det kan resultere i, at myten

om den flittigt reproducerende stille pige accentueres, medmindre der i udgangspunktet for 'stille-pige'-forskningen anlægges en mere differentieret holdning til den sproglige orientering hos pigerne i gymnasiet og kvinderne på sprogfagene. Det er på disse områder, kvinderne findes, og opgaven må i lige så høj grad bestå i at undersøge de kvaliteter, der findes her. Fremmedsprogsområdet forstået som et råderum for bl.a. udfoldelse af kreativitet og fantasi.

Problemformulering

Disse indvendinger mod 'stille-pige'-forskningen førte til, at vi i vores undersøgelse ville fokusere på den aktive, subjektive del af fremmedsprogsinteressen, der kan betegnes som integreret med hele personen. Det blev med andre ord et projekt om motivation i fremmedsprogstilegnelsen, hvor vores specifikke interesse blev at se på individuelle faktorer hos kvinder i voksenundervisningen. På den baggrund afgrænsedes empirigruppen til de valgte fire kvinder i den prøveforberedende sprogundervisning.

Som projektets problemformulering arbejdede vi med følgende fem spørgsmål:

1. Hvormed begrunder kvinder deres fremmedsprogsvalg?
2. Hvori består kvinders subjektive fremmedsprogserfaringer?
3. Hvad oplever de og søger de udfoldet i tilknytning til fremmedsproget?
4. Skaber fremmedsprogsprocessen "et udfoldelsesrum" for fantasi og kreativitet i forbindelse med 'det ufærdige sprog'?

Og i forhold til det mere pædagogiske:

5. Hvordan oplever kvinderne undervisningssituationen i forhold til deres sproginteresse?

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Börsch og teorigrundlaget

I vores overvejelser om 'stille-pige'-forskningen og kvinders sprogvalg spillede det en afgørende rolle, at vi kendte til Sabine Börsch s undersøgelse af kønsspecifik fremmedsprogsmotivation. Da vi i projektet både går ud fra og profilerer os i forhold til hendes arbejde, skal vi her kort referere hovedtrækkene i hendes forskningsinteresse, -metode og -resultat. Også for at orientere om et eksempel på perspektivrig, faglig nytænkning, der på det tidspunkt var det eneste bud på en tolkningsramme, der tværfagligt sammentænker biologiske, psykologiske og sprogteoretiske tilgange. Det kønsspecifikke aspekt bliver ganske vist inddraget også i andre studier over fremmedsproglige motivationsfaktorer, men det er da oftest i forbindelse med undersøgelser af sprogrigtighedsgrad, af sprogbeherskelsens målelige størrelser [2]. Hvad identitetsaspektet angår, har man med undtagelse af Guiora, der interesserer sig for sammenhængen mellem fremmedsprogsindlæring og empatievne (evnen til indleven og indføling), udelukkende beskæftiget sig med det fremmede sprogs bremsende effekt.
Vi har imidlertid sideløbende til Sabine Börsch kunnet relatere til den tangerende 'sprog-køn'-forskning [3], og på det socialisationsteoretiske område især til den tyske sociolog Ulrike Prokops arbejde om kvindelige produktivkræfter.

Sabine Börsch's interesse for relationen kvinder og fremmedsprog udsprang af hendes medvirken ved et tidligere projekt ved Hamborgs Universitet, der tematiserede 'sprogløsheden i fremmedsprogskurserne' og i den forbindelse den formodede manglende studiemotivation. Projektets interviewundersøgelse leverede et overraskende empirisk materiale, idet det i spørgsmålet om studie<u>forventninger</u> viste sig, at forskellene her først og fremmest var knyttet til faktoren 'kønstilhørsforhold'.
At den eksisterende forskning ikke tidligere har været opmærksom herpå, tillægger Börsch det faktum, at traditionelle sprogpsykologiske og lingvistiske undersøgelser enten har ar-

bejdet ud fra en kønsblind synsvinkel eller slet ikke har set på fremmedsprogsforhold. Den for universitetsverdenen atypiske majoritet af kvinder, der ses inden for de nysproglige fagområder ser Börsch intetsteds seriøst tematiseret; fænomenet har allerhøjst været interessant som et negativt eksempel på det almindelige kønsrollemønster. Ovennævnte resultat af interviewundersøgelsen ved universitetet lagde op til en problematisering af forklaringsstereotyperne, og det ansporede Börsch til i et selvstændigt forskningsprojekt at afdække og undersøge de kvindelige studerendes egne, subjektive bevæggrunde for fagvalg.

Som en metode der kunne tilgodese problemstillingen, valgte Börsch gruppediskussionen, med den mulighed der dér er for gensidig erfaringsudveksling. Hun arrangerede en række diskussionsrunder med henholdsvis en kvindelig og en mandlig studentergruppe (som sammenligningsgrundlag), og på baggrund af materialet herfra kunne hun uddrage følgende kønsspecifikke karakteristika og forskelle:

Tematiseringen af fremmedsprogsvalget førte for begge gruppers vedkommende til en intensiv refleksion over egen identitet. Måden dette formuleredes på var imidlertid klart forskellig:

kvinder	mænd
relationen identitet-fr.sprog forklares ud fra:	
et følelsesmæssigt forhold til fr.sprog, der defineres næsten som til et levende objekt	affinitet over for fremmedsprogslandet, der forbindes med kontakt til personer dér
relationen modersmål-fremmedsprog:	
fr.sproget oplevet som et middel til afgrænsning og som en omvej til normbrud	ønske om samme beherskelse af de to sprog, og en vægtning af muligheden for at kunne spille roller som en anden
sproglig utilstrækkelighed:	
opleves som følelsesmæssigt befriende, en narrefrihed med mulighed for mere direkte og ukompliceret kommunikation	beskrives som "ein schmerzliches, bedrückendes Gefühl"

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identitetsudfoldelse:

gennem aktivering af indlevelse, intuition, fantasi og sprogsensitivitet	gennem muligheden for identitetsskift

Börsch konkluderer med udgangspunkt i sin undersøgelses titel: "Fremdsprachenstudium - Frauenstudium?", at de muligheder og oplevelser, som tilegnelsen af et andet sprog giver rum for, måske kan forekomme kvinder særlig relevante i den aktuelle kulturelle kontekst. Dette "andet rum" tillægges en specifik dobbeltfunktion: her er det muligt på den ene side at tilpasse sig en traditionel kvindelighedsnorm og dermed leve op til sociale forventninger, på den anden side gennem det fremmede sprog at skaffe sig sit eget domæne, som tilsyneladende kan bruges som middel til at udfolde bestemte følelser og behov. At fremmedsprogskvalifikationen skulle være særlig attraktiv for kvinder, grundet et mere følelsesmæssigt forhold til sprog generelt, relaterer Börsch til tesen om større sproglig stimulering af piger i den tidligste barndom. Hun finder det nærliggende at operere med et mandligt og et kvindeligt sprogbegreb, idet kvinder åbenbart forbinder sprog med udpræget sanselige erfaringer, medens mænds sprogbegreb synes at have karakter af noget mere abstrakt, noget det er svært at tale om isoleret.

Afslutningsvis kommer Börsch i sin bog ind på de perspektiver der kan udledes af hendes arbejde; hun fremhæver nødvendigheden af inden for universitetsverdenen , i fremmedsprog "die noch recht globale Forderung aufzustellen, daß die affektiven Voraussetzungen der Lernenden (...) stärker berücksichtigt werden"[4]. På forskningsniveau vil det være oplagt at se på betydningen af fremmedsprogets emotionelle dimension og identitetsdannende funktioner - ud fra en tværfaglig teoretisk indfaldsvinkel.

Så vidt Sabine Börsch. Som det vil fremgå, har hendes grundforskning sat sine tydelige spor i vores projektarbejde. Vi tager ungangspunkt i den samme grundlæggende tematik: relati-

onen kvinder-fremmedsprog, men hvad angår præcisering af problemstilling, valg af empirigruppe og metodisk tilgang, så har vi der gået vores egne veje. Hvor Börsch søger at afdække spektret af motivationsfaktorer, har vi især interesseret os for identitetsaspektet. At tænke i identitetstab og identitetsudfoldelse gav os et analyseredskab, der åbnede for en forståelse af de subjektive fremmedsprogserfaringers betydning i den enkeltes livssituation. Netop det aspekt - det individuelle - kommer ikke særlig klart til udtryk hos Börsch, hvis empirigruppe efterlader indtrykket af en bestemt "type": ung, kvindelig universitetsstuderende, uden egentlig biografisk ramme. Det var vigtigere for os at nå frem til et mere facetteret billede af de interviewede kvinder, således at særinteressen blev perspektiveret af den pågældende livshistorie og de aktuelle sociale faktorer. Derfor valget af fire dybtgående enkeltinterviews som det primære i vores undersøgelse, med en afrundende gruppediskussion og de tyske kommunikationssekvenser som metodisk supplement. Og deraf tilskyndelsen til at søge interviewpersoner inden for voksenuddannelsen, udfra den formodning at livserfaringerne og de personlige motivationsfaktorer er mere forskelligartede hos 30-40årige kvinder. At vi til forskel fra Börsch's kønssammenlignende analyse udelukkende koncentrerede os om kvinder, var til dels et pragmatisk ressourcespørgsmål, men en væsentlig grund var imidlertid også, at vi så en skævhed i Sabine Börsch's grundighed og solidaritet på dette punkt, og at det bestyrkede os i, at en komparativ analyse i det omfang, vi kunne udføre en sådan, ville være temmelig formålsløs og uden stor udsagnsværdi.

Metode

På det konkrete plan kom empiriforløbet til at se sådan ud:

1. Forberedelse til interviewundersøgelsen
2. Møde med et tyskhold på et enkeltfagskursus(HF/studenterkursus) i Høje-Tåstrup, hvor vi fremlagde projektideen og udleverede spørgeskema
3. På baggrund af spørgeskemaerne udvalgtes 4 kvinder til interview[5)]
4. Tysk kommunikationssekvens
5. Afsluttende gruppediskussion mellem de 4 interviewede og projektgruppen

Metodisk er baggrunden for dette forløb den kvalitative metode. Som i mange andre kvindeprojekter er det med fokus på den enkelte kvindes dagligdag og livsforløb, hvorved 'det eksemplariske' ved hver kvinde bliver det væsentlige. Det drejer sig ikke om omfanget af undersøgelsesgruppe til forskel for den kvantitative metode. Udsagnsværdien er i vores øjne ikke proportional med antallet af adspurgte; det handler derimod mere om, hvad man spørger om, og i hvilken sammenhæng spørgsmålene stilles.
I denne forbindelse kan nævnes intentionen om at ville opnå en intersubjektiv dimension, hvorved egne forudsætninger sættes i relief af andres erfaringer. Til dette formål er interviewsituationen ideel.[6)] Livsbetingelserne behøver ikke at være identiske, men forskelligheden kan netop være medvirkende til at afspejle bredden og nuanceringen i kvinders forhold til fremmedsprog. Projektet har altså sit metodiske udgangspunkt i den kvindeforskning, hvor vægten lægges på det subjektive, både hvad angår forskeren og "forskningsobjektets" rolle. Interviewsituationen bliver således en læreproces med vægt på 'det solidariske aspekt'.

Inden den videre gennemgang af metode- og analysestruktur: En kort præsentation af de 4 kvinder, som det konkret kom til at dreje sig om.
Gro var på interviewtidspunktet i 1984 39 år. Hun var gift, havde to drenge og boede med sin familie i en mindre by. Gro havde deltidsarbejde som pædagog, da der skulle være tid til allehånde aktiviteter, både hvad angår familie, græsrodsarbejde og uddannelse.
Gros erfaringer med tysk er primært skolebaserede. Udover to års tysk i folkeskolen, har hun gået på AOF-aftenskole, hvorefter hun fortsatte med forberedelseskursus, som afsluttedes

med folkeskolens udvidede afgangseksamen. Derefter fulgte HF-fællesfag- og tilvalgseksamen, og som slutspurt var hun på daværende tidspunkt i gang med studentereksamensniveau.

Anne, den 2. interviewperson, var i 1984 47 år, havde mand og børn, hvoraf en stadig var hjemmeboende. Da vi interviewede Anne, havde hun ikke noget arbejde, men helligede sig HF-studiet og tyskkurset. Før den tid havde Anne arbejdet fuldtids på KTAS. I 1975 påbegyndte hun undervisning på forberedelseskurset i Tåstrup, hvorefter det gik slag i slag.
Som hos Gro er Annes fremmedsprogserfaringer mest relateret til undervisningssammenhæng, udover at Anne har brugt sine tyskkundskaber i sit arbejde.

Mette, den 3. interviewperson, var i 1984 30 år. På daværende tidspunkt havde hun ingen børn og boede sammen med den ene af sine to søstre. I oktober 1983 begyndte Mette i en arbejdsløshedsperiode på engelsk og tysk på HF-enkeltfag. Sidenhen har hun udvidet fagviften med dansk. Bag sig havde Mette en bankuddannelse, havde arbejdet på bibliotek og havde været ansat hos A.P. Møller i en årrække.
Mht. fremmedsprogserfaringer udover det rent skolemæssige, så har Mette mere at trække på end de to foregående. Det hænger sammen med Mettes hyppige besøg hos en søster i Vesttyskland.

Med Pia, den 4. interviewperson, forholder det sig noget anderledes. Som følge af en opvækst i Sønderjylland, tyske bedsteforældre, giftermål med en tysker og 7 års ophold i Forbundsrepublikken indtager fremmedsproget en helt anden og større plads hos Pia end hos de øvrige interviewpersoner.
Pia var 40 år på interviewtidspunktet, fraskilt og uden børn, boede alene i en lejlighed i Tåstrup. Hun er kontoruddannet, havde arbejdet som guide i en årrække, hvorefter hun i Vesttyskland arbejdede i sin mands firma.
Uddannelsesmæssigt startede Pia i en arbejdsløshedsperiode på Daghøjskolen i Tåstrup, og forud for studentereksamenskuset i tysk havde hun taget enkeltfags-HF i engelsk, og sommeren 1984 tog hun som selvstuderende HF i tysk på tilvalgsniveau.

Enkelt-interview

I forberedelserne til interviewene valgte vi at udfærdige nogle

temakredse, hvor vi ikke formulerede direkte spørgsmål, men hvor temaerne blev anvendt som rettesnor i interviewet. På baggrund af spørgeskemasvarene begyndte vi så at sige bagfra ved først at spørge: "Hvad er det, vi fisker efter?" Hvordan ville det være muligt at spørge til disse forhold uden at virke (for) ledende? Og hvordan skulle spørgsmålene struktureres?

Flg. temaer skulle undersøges:

Når vi valgte at starte med livshistorien skal det ses som udtryk for, dels at kvinderne allerede fra starten kunne lægge nogle rammer for vores forståelse af dem, dels for med basis i det kendte og trygge at bevæge sig ud på mere gyngende grund i det videre interview.

Sproghistorie-temaet udsprang af projekets interesse for relationen identitet-sprog. Således både havd angår sprogerfaringer på modersmål og fremmedsprog. Vi ville her forsøge at spørge til den sproglige socialisation og til sprogoplevelser som voksen.

Motivations-temaet satte fokus på problemformuleringens kernespørgsmål: Fremmedsprog som tilvalg eller fravalg.Her ville vi forsøge at indkredse og om muligt at definere sider af motivationens formodede kompleksitet. Vi var ude efter præmisserne for fremmedsprogsvalget, forstået både som det, der vælges, og det, der eventuelt søges væk fra.

Mht. fremmedsprogsoplevelserne uden for undervisningen ville vi spørge til mekanismer og strategier i fremmedsprogsbrugen, som måske kunne indebære, at den pågældende person blev i stand til at udfolde andre sider; et forum for udvidede kontaktflader, "frirum".

Inden for undervisnings-temaet ledte vi bl.a. efter, om der er noget modsætningsfyldt i at lære fremmedsprog i en undervisningssituation, om det opleves som en andenhåndskontakt, eller om der i sprogundervisningen er særlige kvaliteter.

Med det sidste tema mål og visioner ville vi se på de nære mål og uddannelsesforestillinger, som fremmedsproget blev forbundet med, men vi ville også prøve at få fat i de ideer, håb og ønsker, der kunne tænkes i forbindelse med fremmedsprog.

Det metodiske supplement:gruppediskussionen og sprogsekvenserne

Begrundelsen for at ville supplere de individuelle interviews med de tyske kommunikationssekvenser og den afsluttende gruppediskussion var ønsket om at give vores arbejde, og dermed også os selv og de fire implicerede kvinder, et konkret fremadrettet perspektiv. Gruppediskussionen ville give mulighed for en fælles feed-back på enkeltinterviewene gennem udveksling af erfaringer, tanker og kritik, og dermed fungere som afrundende opsamlingsforum for empirigruppen. Men hertil kom chancen for netop gennem diskussion at få udløst ny erkendelse og nye ideer og ikke mindst energi til at søge handlemuligheder i marken, i den private fremmedsprogsdimension og i undervisningen.

Fremmedsprogssekvensen, den såkaldte 'tysk-snak', hvor vi fik et eksempel på kvindernes fremmedsprogsbrug, skulle i lighed med gruppediskussionen fungere på flere planer: som et islæt af sproglig praksis, der ville kunne sætte reflektionerne og teorierne i det øvrige materiale i relief, som et fælles referencegrundlag i den efterfølgende gruppediskussion om bl.a. begrebet kommunikativ kompetence, kreativitet og frustration, og endelig også som en aktuel sprogoplevelse, forskellig fra klasserumssituationen, som et mål i sig selv.
Undervejs i forløbet var tanken om at supplere de teoretiske forestillinger med en eller anden form for konkret sprogiagttagelse jævnligt dukket op. I vores litteratursøgning var vi inden for sprogpædagogikken stødt på studier om 'learner-language', det såkaldte 'inter-sprog', og i den forbindelse begrebet kommunikationsstrategier [7].
At samtænke strategibevidsthed med sprogudfoldelsen gav os nogle billeder af en fremmedsproglig tilgang som offensiv og handledygtig, der faldt i tråd med vores arbejdsperspektiv. Vi så kommunikationsstrategierne en opprioritering af det faktiske fremmede sprog, af en kreativ brug af det ufærdige sprog, som var oplagt at formidle videre - i første omgang til empirigruppen.
På den baggrund etablerede vi en samtalesituation, der under de givne omstændigheder skulle danne ramme for en tilnærmelsesvis "ægte" kommunikation. Hver af vore fire empiri-kvinder havde en kort, uformel snak med en 'native-speaker', en tysker der på det tidspunkt studerede på RUC , om erfaringer

med tysk og Tyskland, en samtale de derefter fik anledning til at kommentere og vurdere i den umiddelbart efterfølgende gruppediskussion. Udfra båndudskrifterne analyserede vi så senere disse samtalesekvenser mhp. interaktion, strategisignaler, sprogbevidsthed m.v. I betragtning af det korte, enkeltstående sprogeksempel kunne der ikke blive tale om et egentligt strategistudie i form af bestemmelse af de forskellige risiko-, reduktions- og samarbejdsstrategier. De tyske samtaler skulle som nævnt først og fremmest indgå som en del af empirimaterialet, der ville give mulighed for at sammenholde med og nuancere de i øvrigt ofte selvkritiske udsagn i enkeltinterviewene.

Bearbejdning af interviews

Som en konsekvens af den 'halvåbne interview-form' var vores mål at forberede interviews, som skulle være baseret på vores temaer, men foregå på kvindernes præmisser.
Hvad angår analysen, bearbejdningen af interviewene, blev vi imidlertid i løbet af empirifasen enige om ikke kun at lave analyse på vores temaer, men også at inddrage kvindernes egne temaer, hvilket dog forudsatte, at vi skrev interviewene helt ud.
I og med vi ville synliggøre og tematisere den enkelte kvindehistorie, indebar det, at vi ikke kunne arbejde med en standardiseret analysemodel. Bearbejdningen blev mere i form af en litterær analyse, hvor "modellen" snarere skulle fungere som retningsangivende, samtidig med at der blev givet rum for individuelle særtræk. Det blev således en analyse, hvor vi først fokuserede på de temaer, kvinderne vægtede, hvorefter vi koncentrerede os om vores temaer, interviewets egentlige udgangs- og omdrejningspunkt. På den måde blev det også en analyse af interaktionen mellem interviewer og interviewperson.

Resultater

Hvad kom der ud af at opsøge fire voksne kvinder og spørge til deres motivation for at arbejde med et fremmed sprog? At der i deres fælles udgangspunkt lå et aktivt valg, var på sin vis en af præmisserne: studentereksamensniveauet på enkeltfagskurserne er netop etableret for at tilgodese en uddannelsesinteresse, der rækker ud over mindstekravet(HF-niveauet). Det i sig selv udelukker ikke, at vi kunne have mødt de rent instrumentelle begrundelser, faget som et nødtvungent skridt på vej til noget andet; det var imidlertid ikke tilfældet, for dem alle fire gjaldt det, at tyskkurset havde betydning for dem både fagligt og personligt, selvom indholdet og karakteren af deres motivation er overordentlig forskellig.

Hos Pia er der på baggrund af hendes biografi tale om, at sider af hendes identitet knytter sig til 'det tyske'. Hun føler sig hjemme dér på en særlig måde:

"det er noget jeg kender, det er noget jeg er sikker på, det er noget som jeg, man kan næsten sige, har et forhold til på den måde, at det giver noget af en sikkerhed"

Tysk er en integreret del af Pias identitet, og i virkeligheden er der hos hende snarere tale om en tosprogsproblematik end om et fremmed sprog i forhold til modersmålet. Tilknytningen til 'det tyske' er så vigtig en del af hendes erfaringsbaggrund, at det ofte vil være til stede i hendes samvær og møde med andre. Selve undervisningssammenhangen vurderes af hende selv som stedet, hvor hun får mulighed for at udfolde sin tyske identitet efter hjemkomsten til Danmark.

Også hos Mette fandt vi bekræftigelse for tesen om fremmedsproget som udfoldelsesrum for sider af identiteten. Ligesom Pia har Mette personlige relationer til Tyskland, og den familiemæssige tilknytning har indimellem en central funktion i hendes liv og udvikling, "det er ikke sådan , at jeg bliver et ængstelig menneske af at komme til Tyskland, men jeg oplever en nuanceforskel i, hvordan min egen psyke er - helt sikkert" . Både Mette og Pia har et godt kendskab til det tyske sprog og baggrundsviden om tyske forhold, som de har lyst til

at inddrage i deres uddannelse og gøre arbejdsmæssigt brug af. Hos de to andre, Anne og Gro, har 'det tyske' en anden status. De anser ikke fremmedsproget for at være af central betydning i deres liv, faget indgår som en brik i en bredere uddannelsessammenhæng, det fungerer som et redskab til personlige udfordringer, der giver mulighed for udvikling i et samspil med andre.

For Gro er faget i høj grad et forum for samvær og diskussion med andre mennesker, det er en tilgang til andres oplevelse af verden og til andre måder at leve livet på:

"jeg har været med i mange ting, det er noget der udvikler mig lidt, at du møder nogle mennesker og er med i nogle diskussioner, nogle møder, og lærer nye ord at kende og får brugt sproget"

De sproglige processer er for hende lystfyldte og spændende i sig selv, og en personlig udfordring på baggrund af en erfaringssituation, hvor hun gerne havde set sig selv som mere manøvredygtig. Og derudover er der stadig liv i en gammel drøm om at bo i udlandet en tid alene, "så kan man vel tage hjem en gang om måneden eller de(familien) kan komme ned til mig"

Annes valg af fremmedsprog indgår som et led i et større uddannelsesforløb, der kan ses som opfyldelsen af noget hun altid har haft lyst til, men som hun ikke tidligere har haft mulighed for:

"først nu synes jeg, at jeg styrer det(livet) selv, jeg vil ikke sige i den retning jeg gerne vil, men noget henad i den retning jeg gerne vil - at jeg går på HF og tager nogle fag, det er ligesom en, nej, det lyder så drastisk, en frigørelsesproces, det er noget i den retning"

Sprogfagene har været mindre betydningsfulde end de direkte samfundsanalyserende fag, men alligevel finder hun perspektiver i tysk at gå videre med, f.eks. lægger hun vægt på arbejdet med at udvikle og udveksle meninger i forbindelse med litteraturlæsning, og hun betoner udbyttet af at lytte til andres viden og erfaringer som en form for indlæring, hun kunne ønske havde mere opmærksomhed i vores undervisningskultur.

I alle fire interviews tematiseres ønsket om sproglig gennemslagskraft. Den fremmedsproglige progression bliver ikke direkte koblet sammen med udviklingen af større sproglig sikkerhed generelt, men sprogundervisningen tillægges betydning som middel til at udvikle holdninger, til at artikulere og diskutere dem.

Det er i den forbindelse også karakteristisk, at de fire kvinder i evalueringen af de tyske samtalesekvenser ivrigt diskuterede netop interaktionen i det kommunikative forløb. Vi fik illustreret og præciseret de mange udsagn om omstændighedernes afgørende betydning for, hvordan de sproglige ressourcer kommer til udfoldelse, og vi kunne se en klar sammenhæng mellem den subjektive vurdering af fremmedsprogskvaliteten og oplevelsen af et med- og modspil i kommunikationen.

De individuelle vurderinger af det rent sproglige, af selve sprogpræstationen i samtaler med udlændinge, belyste på forskellig vis vores forestillinger om fremmedsproget som "et udfoldelsesrum" for fantasi og kreativitet, som et frirum fra vante normer og krav. Med Mettes ord: "jeg giver mig selv lov til at være et gladere menneske, end jeg er herhjemme, en sådan mere umiddelbar person, fordi man ikke hele tiden skal passe på ikke at tabe ansigt..., den der nervøsitet jeg invertfald tit oplever over for fremmede mennesker..., det oplever jeg slet ikke på samme måde med tyskere" , og som Anne udtrykker det:"man bruger sig selv på en lidt anden måde, når man taler sprog, fremmedsprog, end man gør, når man taler dansk, fordi der ved man, at tingene de er bare sådan..., idet der er et eller andet at være usikker på, så ligger der en udfordring, og det er jo den, der er spændende sådan set" . Tilsyneladende kan der i den fremmedsproglige kontekst spilles på andre strenge end i modersmålet. Der opleves en tolerance og en større fejlmargin, der giver rum for eksperimenteren, koncentration og en befriende direkte kontaktform.

Parallelt med fornøjelsen over det usikre og ufardige fremhæver alle fire kvinder imidlertid, uafhængigt af deres sproglige niveau, grammatikkens betydning. Den nævnes som noget

centralt og dominerende, som en såvel ærgerlig som inciterende størrelse:

"jeg har med glæde altid siddet og puklet med min grammatik og læst, og jeg synes det har været et dejligt sprog"(Mette)

"noget der irriterer mig ved mit tysk, det er de dumme fejl der opstår..., jeg siger til mig selv: hvorfor opstår de dumme fejl? Det er logisk, fordi du aldrig har lært noget grammatik, og det er årsagen til, at jeg nu tager tyskkurset"(Pia)

"det er noget jeg godt vil klare, som jeg ikke kan, det er noget der fascinerer mig"(Gro)

"jeg kunne godt lide at sige noget mere, hvis jeg var lidt mere sikker på grammatikken, så ville jeg også sige mere, helt afgjort"(Anne)

Den rolle grammatikken her spiller, ser vi dels som et velkendt negativt resultat af skoletidens tyske terperier, men også som et positivt udtryk for personligt funderede forventninger om akkurathed og præcision og ønsket om , at det sproglige udtryk svarer til det indholdsmæssige. Hertil kommer så selve den æstetiske fascination, en uhåndgribelig "sproglæde", som vi fik forskellige beskrivelser af. Gro nævner allerede i spørgeskemaet de klanglige dimensioner, Pia de billedlige vendinger og lysten til utraditionelle udtryksmåder. Mette fremhæver sin oplevelse af nuancerigdommen i det tyske og Anne kommer sågar ind på ordenes dejlige smag.

Som det sidste skal fremhæves forestillingerne om bevægelighed og rejser, virkelige eller utopiske, der også gennemgående blev forbundet med det at råde over et andet sprog. De kan tages som et alment billede af lyst til oplevelse og en nysgerrighed over for det ukendte, der så samtidig kan rumme kritik af forhold i det nære og hjemlige. Som Mette udtrykte det:

"Det behøver ikke at være kvinder, der er noget i vejen med, fordi de måske har fundet ud af at vælge det, de har lyst til at lave, det er måske samfundet som sådan, der er noget i vejen med".

Mettes bemærkning er plukket fra den afsluttende gruppediskussion, der i høj grad indfriede vores forventninger om en dynamisk snak. Den kom bl.a. til at handle om fordele og ulemper ved at "gå i skole" som voksen, om behovet for at få

studie- og livserfaringerne til at mødes (problemet med 'de adskilte rum', som vi kalder det i rapporten), om det at turde give læreren et ordentligt modspil, og om en kvindelig indstilling til mål og formål med videreuddannelse [8]. Diskussionen mundede ud i empirikvindernes beslutning om også reelt at ville gøre noget ved de hæmmende mekanismer og frustrationer i den aktuelle undervisningssituation, i første omgang ved at føre diskussionen videre på tyskholdet.

- og myterne?

dem,der forklarer kvinders interesse for at arbejde med fremmedsprog som et blindt socialisationsvalg, et valg af det nemmeste, dem kunne vi efter mødet med Gro, Anne, Mette og Pia kun bekræfte som de traditionelle, fremmedbestemte myter, de er. Men hertil skal der siges, at der hos os, i vores iver efter at få indkredset og benævnt de subjektive fremmedsproglige vibrationer og deres identitetsmæssige betydning, til dels var opstået andre myteligende billeder. Den betydning,Sabine Börsch's materiale og teser havde fået for os personligt, gjorde,at vi opbyggede urealistiske forestillinger om at få sat ord på sprogoplevelser. I stedet kom det i langt højere grad til at handle om bevidsthedsudvikling.

Afsluttende bemærkninger

Projektbiografi:

Det egentlige arbejdsforløb for projektgruppens fire kvindelige studerende strakte sig over ca. et år, fra det første gruppemøde i marts 1984 til projekteksamen februar 1985. Dette forløb kan kronologisk deles op i følgende til dels overlappende faser:

orienteringsfasen (teorilæsning m.v.):	marts - april
præcisering af problemstilling og af empirigruppe:	april - juni
metodediskussioner:	aug. - okt.
interviewperioden:	nov. - dec.
analyse- og konklusionsfasen:	dec. - jan.

Hertil kan bemærkes, at orienteringsfasen rent faktisk strakte sig over hele forløbet - et problem, der bl.a. skyldtes den velkendte inerti i overgangen fra læsefase til formuleringsfase, men som for dette projekts vedkommende også var en naturlig konsekvens af, at den eksisterende litteratur inden for området: sprog-identitet kun perifert, om overhovedet, berørte vores interessefelt; vi var derfor hele tiden på jagt og fyrede en del formålsløst krudt af i diverse tangerende sidespor.
Det skal kort nævnes, at vi havde kontakt til RUCs bibliotek, nærmere betegnet Birgitte Lau, fagreferenten for humaniora, som hjalp os med at søge litteratur i de internationale databaser. Desværre uden synderlig indbringende resultat.
Vi havde en tæt og kontinuerlig kontakt i gruppen med op til flere ugentlige gruppemøder, i efteråret jævnlige og udbytterige vejledermøder og to gange - en week-end i april og i august - isolerede vi os med projektet i et sommerhus.
Det hører med til projektbiografien, at vi et par måneder henne i forløbet rejste til Hamburg, hvor vi havde en lang og givende diskussion med Sabine Börsch ang. projektafgrænsning, strukturering og metodevalg, og endelig at vi i december "lånte" hende til en gæsteforelæsning på RUC om 'identitetsopbygning og fremmedsprogserhvervelse'.

En personlig erkendelsesproces

På det personlige plan lå der en enorm tilfredsstillelse og udfordring i en tematisering af baggrunde og præmisser for den fascination og faglige orientering, der havde været bestemmende for vores eget valg af uddannelsesretning. At søge karakteren af fremmedsproglig betydning defineret i vores eget oplevelses- og forståelsesunivers, kædet sammen med en kritisk fokusering

på egne forcer og potentialer var både meningsfyldt og spændende.

En analyse af fagkvalitet

Fagmæssigt så vi en mulighed for, ved en kvalitativ analyse af fagets uhåndgribelige "substans", at kunne bidrage til en udvidelse af forståelsesrammen for sprogfagenes, specifikt tyskfagets indhold og betydning. Ved at søge en hidtil upåagtet og udefineret fagdimension synliggjort, kunne vi gøre os uforholdsmæssige tanker om at rokke ved trivielle myteopfattelser som 'reproduktionsfag', 'redskabsfag', 'stille-pige deficitter', "at kunne sprog er jo ikke noget i sig selv", som en af de replikker lød, vi indsamlede i den indledende fase.
En holdning der var - og stadig er? - provokerende repræsentativ.

En emancipatorisk korrektion

Overordnet ønskede vi, ud fra et kvindeperspektiv, at problematisere fremmedsprogskvalifikationens kønsspecifikke lavstatus og dermed også vores egen samfundsmæssige placering og rolle. Problemstillingens kritisk fremadrettede karakter faldt helt i tråd med vores intention om at ville gå ind i diskussionen om kvindelighedens traditionelle udgrænsning, og her var det oplagt at blande sig i den aktuelle debat om 'sprog og køn', med aspektet 'køn og fremmedsprog', en relation der inden for såvel kvindeforskningskredse som i fremmedsprogsforskningen var uudforsket land.

Et retrospektivt blik

Rapporten fremtræder i dag på talrige måder som et produkt af den samtid, den er skrevet i; som et udtryk for den faglige sammenhæng, vi befandt os i på RUC, nemlig Kvindetemaet og "Kvinder på tværs", samt de kvindeforskningsmæssige diskussioner, derblev ført uden for murene.
Et iøjenfaldende træk er det følelsesmæssige engagement som rapporten er skrevet med. Denne enthusiasme har bl.a. bevirket at vi ikke har været i stand til at distancere os, hverken mere abstrakt fra problemstillingen, eller konkret i forbindelse med empiriundersøgelsen.
I forhold til denne var det vanskeligt at få hold på den modsætning, der ligger i både at ville styre et forløb og samtidig lade kvinderne få frit løb. Denne "sætten sig mellem to stole" resulterede i, at vi på nogle måder fortabte os i deres livshistorie, hvorved vores omdrejningspunkt fortonede sig. Disse præmisser

gjorde sig yderligere gældende i analysen. Aspekter, der kunne virke foruroligende på empirigruppen, blev derfor ikke tematiseret, da vi var usikre over for at skulle forlade det tætte og solidariske, vi havde opbygget med de interviewede kvinder. Det havde som konsekvens, at der ikke blev foretaget væsentlige prioriteringer, i og med at "alt var interessant", dvs. burde inddrages, for at tematik og kvinder fremstod i det rette lys. Af den grund rapportens murstensagtige omfang!

Som allersidste bemærkning vil vi tilføje, at emnet stadig ikke er udtømt. Vi har ofte i vores nuværende arbejde som fremmedsprogsundervisere set det praktisk anvendelige i tematikken, - i en øget opmærksomhed over for de mangfoldige faktorer, der spiller ind i en fremmedsprogstilegnelse, - i den bevidstgørelse vi selv har gennemgået via projektarbejdet.

Noter

1. Marianne Kristiansen har introduceret dette begreb i artiklen De stille piger i Kontext 40, 1981.
2. Gardner & Lambert 1959, Burstall 1975, Guiora m.fl. 1972, Ekstrand 1980.
3. Trömel-Plötz 1982, Thorne & Henley 1975, Dale Spender 1980, Hjordt-Vetlesen 1984 og Stistrup Jensen 1984.
4. S.Börsch 1982, s.192.
5. Kriteriet for udvælgelse var dels deres lyst til at deltage i undersøgelsen, dels omfanget af deres fremmedsprogserfaringer.
6. Til belysning af dette aspekt kan anbefales: Kvinnovetenskaplig tidskrift, 1, 1983; se også Abendroth 1984.
7. Glahn 1977, Phillipson 1982, Brodersen m.fl. 1982.
8. En kreds af temaer , der gav masser af relevant stof at arbejde videre med i projektets pædagogiske del om kvinder, sprog og voksenundervisning, hvor vi sammenholder vores empiriske materiale med den såkaldte 'stille-pige'forskning og med forskning omkring voksnes behov for uddannelse.

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CONTRA-REAGAN

Mikael Klintorp[1]

1. Introduction

1.1. Motivation

An old man appears on television. He is sitting quietly behind a table and he is talking. His voice is calm, he seems relaxed but a bit worried. His attention never fails the camera and you feel that he is looking at and talking directly to you, his good old friend. The words he is saying come without hesitation, he is never in doubt about what to say. He never looks at a manuscript[2], the words appear to come off the top of his head. When he has finished, no matter how much you disagree with him, you cannot forget what he said. And you cannot forget **him**. Sometimes you may even find yourself wondering whether you really disagree as much with him as you thought you did. Whether his or your views are the right ones.

We are all familiar with this man: Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, also nicknamed The Great Communicator. The familiarity is not just caused by his power, his position or his ideas, but also - as the nickname suggests - because of his popular appeal.

And this was exactly what started us off with this project. We wanted to know how he was able to charm every one, sometimes even to obtain support from influential opponents. From the beginning we knew that this was far too broad a subject to work with. Besides, this was to be a project in module 1 at English OB and therefore linguistics should be a keyword. We were confident, however, that part of Ronald Reagan's image as a great communicator could be described under this heading.

1.2. Influence of the module 1 requirements

Our somewhat vague conception of "linguistics" misled us to a very narrow interpretation of the module 1 requirements. To be on "the safe side" we wanted to analyse

Ronald Reagan's language primarily by means of grammar and phonetics. We had other reasons, of course: First of all we found it challenging to apply these often very traditionally taught disciplines to a real life phenomenon rather than to ordinary examples out of context as found in reference works.

To go into such a detailed kind of analysis we found it necessary to limit our object of analysis to a single speech. We chose a televised speech from June 1986 which seemed interesting both because of its theme, the Contras in Nicaragua[3], and because it was a successful attempt to make the Congress accept a bill which was expected to be turned down - a similar bill was rejected three months earlier. We regarded this fact as a guarantee that characteristic features of The Great Communicator could be found in this particular speech, hereafter called the Contra-speech[4].

1.3. Our hypotheses

From the beginning we hypothesized that some of these characteristic features are related to language and that they involve:

1) Prosodic patterns. His relaxed appearance and conversational manner must include deliberate use of prosody.

2) Low complexity. This involves grammar, of course, but also his skill in explaining ideas in a simple way[5] should be discoverable from the text.

Our own opinion about Reagan and the contras was in this way pushed aside and dealing with such neutral hypotheses made us rather frustrated at times and we directed our work more and more towards *discourse analysis*. We hoped thereby to combine the micro-level (intra-sentence) analysis with a less narrow analysis which also would consider the societal aspects of the speech. Our central question became:

How can Ronald Reagan - by a televised speech - make people question their own points of view?

And in addition to our first hypotheses (the "narrow" ones) we wanted to answer our question by investigating the following complementary hypotheses:

a) Ronald Reagan's appearance as a good friend is contradicted by the fact that he holds immense power. This must be reflected in his use of language.

b) He is able, by use of arguments built on common ideology, to persuade some of his listeners that he is right.

1.4. Approach

In structuring our report we were inspired by the RUC-report "We Don't Economise on Protecting Life And Property" (Bonde, Knudsen, Lønver and Stampe 1986). They analysed both a speech held by Margaret Thatcher and some news spots concerning this speech, and they used a communication model to structure their analysis. We adopted this approach although we had some difficulties in applying it to our problem, because some parts of our textual analysis, e.g. on power discourse, to us (erroneously) seemed not to fit neatly into the categories of the model.

To save the reader from the confusion that will inevitably arise if this article was structured as was our report, all parts of our textual and linguistic analyses are placed within the communication model. This model is described very briefly here, and only one category, code, which "contains" our analyses is dealt with in detail.

Our analyses comprise grammar, prosody, complexity, style, power discourse and argumentation, thus reflecting our increasing interest in reaching further than the micro-level and anchoring the linguistic aspects in the context. To be honest we did not succeed very well in this process; we were too busy doing the separate analyses to relate them to each other, and since this is a presentation and *not* an elaboration of our report it will be a little miracle if the article does not appear just a little fragmented.

The presentation will be structured as follows: The communication model, our use of it and our weighting of its categories are described *very* briefly. Then each part of our linguistic analyses is given a somewhat more detailed account by stating our intentions - in the cases of grammar and phonetics also offering an extract - and finally stating the results of the analysis.

2. The communication model

We related our various analyses to Roman Jakobson's classic communication model (see Allen and Corder, 1973).

As hinted at above we did not take full advantage of the model, rather we used it as a form in which to fill some more or less (more more than less) incoherent information.

Naturally our main concern was code (and contents), but as our work was originally planned to be a joint International Development Studies and English project[6] the context was also given a high priority. As for the addresser, the addressee and the channel we merely relied on our own general knowledge. Our analysis of the context was primarily a historical account of Nicaragua-U.S.A.-relations and an exposition of some of the myths and events to which Ronald Reagan refers, e.g. the "City upon a hill" myth and the post-Vietnam syndrome. I do not find it relevant here to give a more detailed account of our findings in the contextual fields - we did not really use them to glue together our analysis, although it would undoubtedly have been fruitful.

3. Grammar

According to Fowler (1982, p.72) the most revealing way to measure syntactic complexity is to study what kind of clauses and phrases occur in what relationships. We therefore set out to chop up the Contra-speech according to subordination and coordination, the two major devices for elaborating sentence structure.

Apart from this we picked some other categories - not entirely at random - but because they stand out in some way or another, for instance the use of vocatives. One category, which we labelled "stylistic peculiarities", ranges from syntactical errors to semantic ambiguities and it was inspired by an error of concord in the speech.

The chopping was only possible by means of a word processor: we had typed the speech in and using the two editors of WordPerfect we could concentrate on one (sub)-category at a time, pick out the relevant bits and pieces from the speech in one editor and put them in their "proper" place in the other editor. The same fragment of the speech would often fit in several categories and within each category we listed these fragments chronologically and although the chopping was not entirely completed it took up 11 densely written (and boring) pages of our report. To comfort the reader: only a few examples from each category are listed here.

3.1. Coordination

Here we distinguished the following sub-categories: compound clauses and coordination within the clause elements. Coordination in for instance subjects can occur on two levels. First, two or more entire phrases can be coordinated. Second, the coordination can occur inside a phrase, for instance in the head of a noun phrase. No distinction is made between these levels in the following, but the marker of the coordination, both syndetic and asyndetic, is with grey background.

Compound clauses

Line 6: I had hoped to speak directly and at this very hour to Members of the House of Representatives on this subject, but was unable to do so.

Line 57: So we took the path of least resistance and did nothing.

Subjects

Line 64: one tragic, glaring exception

Line 132: peasants, Indians, devout Christians, draftees from the Sandinista army

Line 170: you and I and every American

Line 282: the communist guerrillas and the right-wing death squads

Verbs

Line 5: will debate and vote

Line 194: debate and debate and debate - and do (nothing.)

Complements

Line 3: the cause of freedom in Central America and the national security of the United States.

Line 148: the Sandinista commandantes, who betrayed the hopes of the Nicaraguan revolution, and sold out their country to the Soviet empire.

Line 445: still a beacon of hope, still a light unto the nations.

Objects

Line 36: terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections and the suppression of personal freedoms.

Line 344: {[the long-term] [danger] [to American interests]} {posed by a communist Nicaragua, backed by the Soviet Union, and dedicated - in the words of its own leaders - to a "revolution without borders"}

Adverbials

Line 10: with you - and Members of the House -

Line 41: by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

Line 93: with Cuban, East German, and Bulgarian advisers

Line 103: to have Cubans, Russians, Bulgarians, East Germans, and North Koreans running their prisons, organizing their army, censoring their newspapers, and suppressing their religious faith.

3.2. Subordination

We chose to deal with subordination of clauses only. Therefore subordinations like:

Line 142: these brave young men and women

(By intonation this may be asyndetic coordination, but a semantic equivalent to the written text is:
these young men and women, who are brave,
and not:
these men and woman, who are brave and young;
young thus being subordinate to *brave*.)

were not given attention. We also chose not to treat the two syntactic functions of subordinate clauses separately. The two functions are

1) structural function, i.e. subject, object, complement or adverbial (and *extremely* rarely: verb).
2) part-of-phrase function, e.g. prepositional complement and postmodifier in a noun phrase.

The second function is a sort of "indirect" subordination and we simply listed such cases under the structural functions of the superordinate phrases. Square brackets surround the subordinate clauses and curly brackets are used to surround elements of similar status as a subordinate clause, e.g. when a postmodification consists of two coordinated elements, the one being a clause, the other a phrase (see for instance line 30, objects). Curly brackets are also used when embedding is involved (see for instance line 13, objects).

Subjects

Line 22: communist guerrillas, [backed by the Soviet Union],
Line 40: to support the free peoples [who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures].

Objects

Line 13: (of) another danger to democracy, a civil war {in a faraway country [in which many Americans could perceive no national security interest]}.
Line 30: that we had come to a time {in history} [when every nation would have to choose between two opposing ways of life].

(The adverbial in this finite object clause is a prepositional phrase in which the second of the two coordinated postmodifications is a relative clause).

Line 40: the free peoples [who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures].

Complements

Line 120: to ignore the mass exodus of the Miskito Indians, the departure of tens of thousands of Nicaraguan men and women of every age, profession, economic status and political persuasion.
Line 123: to ignore the most terrible violation of freedom of the press and of speech in the history of our country, the expulsion of priests and the mass exodus of young people eligible for military service.

Adverbials

Line 8: Because I feel so strongly about what I have to say
Line 23: to decide the nation's fate.
Line 72: to help rebuild the country.
Line 75: to consolidate power and squeeze out their democratic allies.
Line 129: (Many brave Nicaraguans have stayed in their country despite mounting repression) - defying the security police, defying the Sandinista mobs that attack and deface their homes.

3.3. Other categories

Appositions

Line 13: another danger to democracy, a civil war in a faraway country in which many Americans could perceive no national security interest.
Line 21: Greece, the home of democracy,
Line 62: for a better future - a future the United States must support.
(See Rhetorical repetitions).

Rhetorical repetitions

Line 51: I need your help in remembering - remembering our history
(This remark amused quite a lot during his Irangate-blackout.)
Line 63: a better future - a future the United States must support.
Line 98: Today there are eleven. Eleven prisons instead of one.
Line 141: And still they volunteer. And still their numbers grow.
Line 194: debate and debate and debate (- and do nothing.)
Line 255: "The Sandinistas are responsible. The Sandinistas." That's what the people said. "The Sandinistas," (Leiken concluded, "have not only ...")
Line 416: He called it "hope to the world for all future time."
Hope to the world for all future time.

Vocatives

Line 1: My fellow citizens.
Line 50: My fellow Americans and Members of the House.
Line 192: My friends
Line 226: My friends in the House
Line 341: My friends in the Congress
Line 348: My friends
Line 375: My friends in the House of Representatives
Line 438: Reverend Father
Line 440: My fellow citizens, Members of the House

Imperatives

Line 113: Listen carefully
Line 186: ask yourself:
Line 207: Think again
Line 234: consider this:
Line 247: Or listen to
Line 259: consider
Line 270: But think
Line 337: consider this:

Line 377: Tell them
Line 378: Tell them
Line 441: let us not take
Line 442: let us keep
Line 443: Give them, give me
Line 444: let us send

Stylistic peculiarities

Line 169: For you and I and every American *has* a stake in this struggle.
(Error of concord.)

Line 115: He says that the Sandinista regime "is a democratic government, legitimately constituted, which seeks the welfare and peace of the people and enjoys the support of the overwhelming majority" is not true.
(Is the first quotation mark correctly placed? How does it fit with intonation?).

Line 288: because I know *(that)* many members of Congress and *(that)* many Americans are deeply troubled by allegations
(A structural ambiguity arises in the written text from the double ellipsis of the conjunction "that". This ellipsis must be marked by intonation.)

3.4. Summing up

What was most interesting in this time-consuming work was not discoveries in the relation between subordination and coordination, no obvious measure to the complexity of the text seemed to appear from this. On the other hand, our "own" categories told much more about the style than we had expected. For instance the impression of a direct appeal is in a way quantified by counting the vocatives and the impression of personal, emotional involvement of the speaker is underlined by the use of rhetorical repetitions. In fact it is not very surprising that what springs in the eyes is the most fruitful to give a closer examination, but it should be justly said that chopping as thoroughly as we did sharpened our attention for many details. For instance the "trick" in line 22 where The Soviet Union is elegantly implied to back all communist guerrillas, and many other places we were able to find passages where certain prosodic patterns necessarily must have been used to clarify or underline the semantics of the text although this seems not always to be Ronald Reagan's primary concern (see section 4.5).

4. Prosody

The original intent with this analysis was to pass the phonology course, but soon we realized that to do it properly was too time-consuming unless the analysis could be used in our project. We would, obviously, have liked to analyse the Contra-speech but we were unable to get a taped version. Even contacting the White House gave no result but a couple of letter, so we had to make do with another speech, the State of the Union speech from 1985. To use another speech for a part of an analysis is somewhat problematic, but as Atkinson (1984, p. 167) says, Ronald Reagan *always* leaves the same relaxed impression and since this was what we were looking for, we found it possible to draw valid conclusions from the State of the Union speech.

Technically we had great difficulties. From the AV department we could only get a video-taped version and from this we had to copy the soundtrack. Our first attempt with a microphone and low quality tape-recorder soon proved insufficient. It might have been useful had Ronald Reagan only been a traditional orator. But because of his "low-key style" - this is Atkinson's term - his voice appears quite monotonous and we therefore needed both a better recording and the possibility to control the tape-speed. So we made another attempt, this time tapping the soundtrack directly from the video-recorder. We made the final transcription from this tape-recording using a vario-speed tape-recorder.

On the theoretical basis there was a problem too: The theories we used are concerned with British and not American English. Crystal and Davy point out (1969, p. 2), however, that variants of English have much more in common than differentiate them, and Bolinger, who has described American prosody, also works from this assumption. Thus a major structural similarity between variants is guaranteed to be the common core of English, and we did not go deeper into this problem.

4.1. Terminology

In this respect we followed the ideas of Crystal and Davy (1969, p. 25-40) [7] leaving out descriptions of phenomena we did not find in the speech, for instance voiced pauses. Below the ingredients of our transcription are summarized.

Tone unit is a central concept. Crystal and Davy (1969, p.25) describe it in this way:

> "The tone unit may be recognized by a combination of features which occur at its boundary, and by its characteristic internal structure: boundary features may comprise a marked shift in pitch, various types of pause, and modifications to the final phonetic segments in the unit;"

This is discussed in detail in for instance Crystal, 1969 p. 204-210, and 1975 p. 43-46, but we found this intuitive description sufficient. Only few times will the placing of tone unit boundaries be unclear.

The tone unit can be subdivided into:

Nucleus: The syllable with the most prominent pitch-movement of the tone unit. This is nearly always combined with tone-variation, see "Tone types" below. *Tonicity* refers to the location of the nucleus syllable in a tone unit. The nucleus is usually located towards the end (unmarked focus). To place it earlier will have an emphatic or a contrastive effect and this will be referred to as *contrastive tone*.

Onset: The first prominent syllable of the tone unit (made prominent either by a marked pitch-movement away from the pitch level of the preceding syllables in addition to an increase in loudness, or by an increase in loudness alone)[8].

Prehead: The possible syllables before the onset - always unstressed (by Crystal and Davy, in contrast to Niels Davidsen-Nielsen, (1984, p. 119)).

Head: The onset plus other syllables up to but not including the nucleus.

Tail: Quite naturally this refers to the remaining syllables of the tone-unit, if any.

4.2. Typographical conventions

Tone unit boundary:	|
Nuclear syllable:	CAPITALS[9]
Onset syllable:	Normal: |
	Higher than normal: $\|_h$
	Lower than normal: $\|_l$
Tone types:	Simple: ` , ´, ¯
	Complex: ^, ˇ
	Compound: ` + ´, ´+ `
Stress:	weak: not marked
	normal: '
	strong: "

Pitch-range (stressed syllables):

slight step-down: not marked

Level with preceding syllable: ·

step-up higher than preceding syllable: ↑

step-up higher than preceding step-up: ↕

Nuclear syllable pitch-range:

narrow: $_{n}$

wide: $_{w}$

Syllabic clipping: held syllable: ▒ (e.g. b▒t)[10]

Silent pause: unit: -

double: --

treble: ---

brief: .

Apart from what can be marked by this typography certain linguistic features will be marked for in the margin:

Pitch-range: descending, low.

Speed: lento, allegro.

Rhythmicality: staccato.

It is also possible to mark for paralinguistic features, but apart from a slightly breathy voice all the way through, we have not found any occurrence of paralinguistic "tricks"; only once the pitch-level goes so low that the voice becomes creaky (paragraph 8)[11]. The breathy voice is most likely a question of individual voice-quality and is as such a non-linguistic phenomenon. The scope of a feature written in the margin is indicated by semi-colons.

4.3. The transcription

Paragraph 1

;descending; ;|$_{h}$mister |SPE$\check{A}$Ker| - |PR$\acute{E}$Sident| -- dis|tinguished 'members of the C$\bar{O}$Ngress| - |honoured GU$\acute{E}$STS| - and |fellow C$\grave{I}$Tizens|;

Paragraph 2

| I |come be'fore you to . rePORT| on the |state of our UNion| - and |I'm 'pleased to re'port that after . ɪfour 'years of u'nited EFfort| - the a|merican 'people have . ɪbrought 'forth a NAtion| . re|NEWED| - |STRONGer| - |FREer| -- |ₗand more se'cure than beFORE| (* Applause for 10 seconds *).

Paragraph 3

;allegro;

| |ₕfour ᵥYEARS aGO| |we . beɪgan to CHANGE| - ;for|ᵥEVer I HOPE;| - |our as'sumptions a'bout ₙGOvernment| . and |its 'place in our LIVES| - |out of that |change has come ₙGREAT| and |ro'bust GROWTH| - in our |CONfidence| . our e|conomy and our 'role in the WORLD|

Paragraph 4

-- | to|NIGHT| . a|merica is STRONGer| . be|cause of the VALues| that |we 'hold DEAR| -- |we be'lieve FAITH| . and |ₙFREEdom| - |must be our 'guiding STARS| for they |ₗshow us - TRUTH| . and make us |BRAVE| . |give us

;low;

ₙHOPE| - ;|and . 'leave us ɪwiser than we WERE;|

Paragraph 5

| - our |progress be'gan 'not in 'washington 'd.C.| - but in the |hearts of our FAMiles| . com|MUNities| . |WORK'places| and . |ₗVOLun'tary GROUPS| . which to|GETHer| - are un|ₗleashing the inVINcible SPIrit| - of |one 'great 'nation . 'under GOD| (* Applause for 9 seconds *).

Paragraph 6

;allegro;

| |ₕfour ᵥYEARS aGO| ;|we 'said 'we would inɪvigorate our eCONomy| by |giving 'people 'greater FREEdom| - and in|centives to take RISKS| and |letting them 'keep 'more of 'what they EARNED;| (* Attempted applause *)

;lento;

-- ;we |did what we ɪPROmised| --- and a |great in'dustrial 'giant . is 'reBORN;|

Paragraph 7

;allegro;

;;allegro;;

| - ;to|night; we can take 'pride in ;;ttwenty 'five 'straight "months of teco'nomic GROWTH;; | the |strongest in 'thirty 'four YEARS| a |three 'year in'flation 'average ;of 'three 'point 'nine; per CENT| - the |lowest in 'seventeen YEARS| - and |seven 'point 'three 'million tnew JOBS| in |two YEARS| - with |$_{l}$more of our 'citizens WORKing| . than |ever be$_{w}$FORE| (* Applause for 10 seconds *).

4.4. Description of the paragraphs

Paragraph 1. The listing of these vocatives is a formal introduction - irrelevant as for the state of the Union - and the independent status of the paragraph is supported by grammar (it is not a sentence, but merely a compound noun phrase), by semantics (it is a formal introduction) and by intonation: Starting at a high pitch-level, descending pitch-range all the way through, with rising or level[12] nucleus in combination with asyndetic coordination to indicate when the list will continue, and to finish the list there is both syndetic coordination and the falling nucleus. This is a very traditional *listing intonation pattern* which is used later in the text in modified and more complex versions.

Paragraph 2. This paragraph functions as the headline of the speech. It states the purpose and the premise of the speech, and there are some interesting contrasts in it:

a) Informality/formality. After the formal and intonationally very traditional introduction, the brief pauses before "report", "for years" and "brought forth" create an informal impression while at the same time giving extra prominence to these phrases. "Four years" and "brought forth" are especially prominent because there is a step-up in pitch-level involved.

On the other hand, the formality is increased by placing "renewed" in the post-modification of "nation". The post-modification of nation thus becomes more complex than necessary, and complex post-modification is a characteristic feature of legal language (Crystal and Davy, p. 55).

b) Listing intonation pattern/subordination. Grammatically "renewed" is subordinate to the rest of the post-modification of "nation" (it is "a renewed nation which is stronger,... than before" and not "a nation which is renewed,... than before"), but "renewed" is made part of an intonational listing pattern. By includ-

> ing "renewed" as an additional fourth item in a list of three (a "claptrap", Atkinson, 1984) the ending of the list becomes very definite, both because of its length and because of the falling nuclei in the last two tone units. The double fall is hard to imagine in a list of only three items.

Finally it should be noted that the ending of the paragraph is underlined by the increase of pause-length. The paragraph is rewarded with a long applause, according to Atkinson (1984) the average applause is 8 seconds.

Paragraph 3. To regain control Ronald Reagan starts at a relatively high pitch-level and with a widened pitch-range, but in contrast to the descending pitch all through the first paragraph he is here already at his usual level after the first tone unit. Again, an intonational informality comes through, this time in two different ways: The brief pause before "began" and the delay of "t" in "great". The latter creates a certain drawling effect.

Contrastive tone[13] is used twice: in "four years ago" and in "forever I hope". In the first case this gives emphasis to the duration (so far) of Ronald Reagan's administration, in the second case the future prospect "forever" is emphasized. Beside this "temporal focus" the double occurrence of the relatively rare fall-plus-rise nucleus gives a rhythmic impression, although interposed sentences have a tendency for rhythmical clumsiness because of the need for a setting off. Here, "forever I hope" is set off by pauses, increase in speed and a widened pitch-range.

The end of the paragraph is a list of three, but via prosody it becomes a list of two. "Economy" and "our role in the world", the last two items on the list, are huddled together in one tone unit and thus they are tied close together.

Paragraph 4. Again, a time adverbial introduces a paragraph. This initial position (of adverbials in general) is characteristic of newspaper reporting (Crystal and Davy, p. 182). But what is most remarkable about this paragraph is the lack of applause. The paragraph ends in a list of four which intonationally resembles the list of paragraph 2. It is syntactically more complex: the items are not isolated words but clauses and they are syndetically grouped in pairs and the list ends in a comparison clause: "than we were" (compared to "than before" in the second paragraph). Being more final in its tone (by pausing and by a low pitch) makes the last tone unit more of a "claptrap" than is the second paragraph.

Paragraph 5. The endorsing item (Quirk et al. 1985, §13.33 and §13.42) of the correlative not/but is marked grammatically by the unusual negative-construction: "began not" instead of "did not begin". but it is only slightly marked by prosody. A stronger prosodic marking would break the rhythmicality.

The list of four (families, communities, work places and voluntary groups) follows the traditional listing intonation pattern except for the last item, which is a tone-unit with the rare rise-plus-fall tone type. The function of the rise-plus-fall is to give emphasis to "voluntary" and to end off the list.

Another rare tone type, the rise-fall, provides "together" with a special prominence:

> "The rise-fall, on the other hand, is really a rather emotive variant of the falling tone, used to express, for example, a genuine or sarcastic warmth". (Quirk et al. 1985, p. 1600).

The rise-plus-fall is used once again, and with the final fall on God, there have been four successive tone-units ending with a falling tone. In connection with the strong emotional appeals to the City upon a hill myth the applause is not unexpected.

4.5. Conclusion

Having finished this transcription it surprised us how few devices Ronald Reagan uses. Partly this can be explained by the methodological limitations, but even so, features that have slipped our attention cannot be extremely significant, we believe/hope.

All in all this may leave a monotonous impression but the large number of fall-rise nuclei, the variations of listing intonation patterns, the use of pauses and the rhythmicality break this impression and make the continuity of the speech clear while at the same time the paragraph structure of the text is underlined. On one occasion, however, rhythmicality is preferred to intelligibility: the interposed adverbial "even as we meet" in paragraph 8 is not marked prosodically[14].

As mentioned Ronald Reagan uses a large number of fall-rise nuclei. A simple count shows:

Tone-type	Transcription	Common core	Deviation
Fall	32	38.4	-6.4
Rise	17	15.6	1.4
Fall-rise	15	6.4	8.6
fall-plus-rise	4	5.8	-1.8
Rise-fall	2	3.9	-1.9
Rise-plus-fall	3	1.3	1.7
Level	2	3.7	-1.7
Total	75	75.1	

The numbers used for comparison are found in Quirk et al. 1985, p. 1602 and they cover a British English corpus of conversation.

According to Quirk et al. (§19.87 note) the many fall-rise-units are perfectly predictable in a situation like this:

> The high ratio of (tone-units ending with) a rise is partly a function of personal style and partly a function of the style determined by the occasion: the need to make one's voice carry in large company, the need to give the impression of inviting the audience's interest and of not seeming dogmatic.

The non-dogmatic impression is enforced by the use of fewer fall-units. The fall-rise nucleus is described by Halliday and Hasan (1976) as being able to carry the notion of a "however" being added, in other words, the audience will expect more information to come.

The tone units of the speech are frequently separated by pauses and towards the end of a paragraph the pauses tend to be longer giving a certain punchline effect. The punchline effect is used partly to draw attention to the semantics of the speech, but also to involve the public emotionally. In some cases the audience responds by applauding. Another effect of the pauses, when used between tone units, is that it gives each tone-unit a clear articulation. In some parts of the speech it also gives a rhythmical impression, so that the fluency becomes very good. It is very easy for the audience to follow what is being said and it gives the impression that the speaker is very deliberate in what he is saying. The brief pauses within the tone units function as focusing devices on many occasions. These brief pauses are similar in effect to the dash in newspaper reporting. Crystal and Davy (1969) remark that it is used to link expressions of thought or afterthought.

We have found no voiced pauses, and again, this is not surprising since voiced pauses signal uncertainty.

We have noted one phenomenon not described by Crystal and Davy: the carrying over a consonant from the end of one tone unit to the beginning of the next. Ronald Reagan does this twice (in paragraph 3 and 6) and it gives a drawling, informal effect.

5. Power discourse

To appear as a good old friend, although you hold immense power, is one of Ronald Reagan's skills. The words of a good old friend are, however, not necessarily as powerful as Ronald Reagan's, but his power discourse was far from being obvious to us[15]. In his article, Power (1982), Fowler considers the correlation between social and linguistic structures and he presents a checklist of linguistic categories worth examining when trying to uncover how power-relations are communicated.

Fowler offers no clear definition of power and to make up for this we tried to combine his checklist with Galtung (see Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1986). He categorizes power in two ways, one emanating from the power-holder and the other from the means used by him/her/it.

1) Structural power, resource power, innate power.
2) Ideological power, remunerative power, punitive power.

Ronald Reagan's power is often associated with his charm, i.e. his innate power, but looking at the text alone cannot give information on this. However, using Fowler's checklist proved that the other categories were all present in the speech. Again we took advantage of the word processor to chop up the speech, and below is an extract from those of Fowler's categories we found particularly relevant.

5.1. Deletion

Various linguistic "tricks" can be used to avoid mentioning certain facts, in short this is done by manipulating the sentence structure or by omitting optional clause elements[16]. For instance the use of passive mode makes it possible not to mention the agent of an

action, because the by-phrase becomes optional. What is interesting in this respect is obviously: What has been deleted?

Line 8: I had hoped to speak directly and at this very hour to Members of the House of Representatives on this subject, but was unable to do so.
(The Congress did not allow him to).

Line 84: Violeta Chamorra, widow of the assassinated editor
(Who killed the editor? It was Somoza's National Guard)

5.2. Modality

In general,

> "*modality* may be defined as the manner in which the meaning of a clause is qualified so as to reflect the speaker's judgement of the likelihood of the proposition it expresses being true." (Quirk et al., p.219).

Fowler specifies five categories of modality in his checklist:

1) Validity - the extent to which the speaker expresses confidence in the truth of his statements.
2) Predictability - future events are more or less likely to happen.
3) Desirability - practical, moral or aesthetic judgments (involves undesirability as well).
4) Obligation - the speaker's judgment that another person is obligated to perform some action.
5) Permission - the speaker allows addressee to perform some action.

Apart from these we also considered *directives* here since they can be seen as a mixture of desirability, obligation and permission.

Line	*Example*	*Category*	*Linguistic form*
20	The government of Czechoslovakia would soon be overthrown	predictability	Modal verb (past ref.)
31	Every nation would have to	predictability	----"----
39	It must be the policy	desirability	Modal verb
50	I need your help	directive	Full verb
63	United States must support	desirability	Modal verb
101	But you and I know the truth	validity	Full verb
109	I could go on but	validity	Modal verb

These few examples do not give any general view, but we found that Ronald Reagan appears to predict the future of Central America in a very precise way, eliminating any doubt, and he lets his audience know what is undesired by hypothetical statements. Desirability, on the other hand, is marked clearly as the President's assertion of America's responsibility. He "urges" his listeners to do this and that, leaving open the question of whether it is an appeal or a request, and in this way he manages to balance between two different presidential roles: The faithful servant and the responsible executor of "the American obligation to the world". Considering his role as a politician it is not surprising

that Ronald Reagan states the validity of his information in a very absolute manner, however.

6. Conclusion

The essence of our conclusion(s) is included in the account of the different analyses above and *that*, in turn, is the essence of our problems: We felt unable to integrate our observations and to generalize our findings although our corpus was many times larger than the corpus of most of our references; Fowler (1982), for instance, analyses a few short newspaper articles. The disadvantage of having such a large corpus for the kinds of analyses we chose is, of course, that the boring part of the job, the "chopping", becomes extremely time-consuming. On the other hand we reached a relatively high level of chopping-proficiency and a reasonable level *is* necessary in order to detect the general lines, so the problem is circular. The effect of this circularity is enforced in the initial phase, when the chopping-categories are singled out, and looking at our analyses now, many uninteresting categories can be found, particularly in the grammar section, but it is also possible to find additional categories worth giving a closer examination, see for instance note 16.

In trying to analyse such a long speech, we obviously bit off more than we could chew, and to deduce a simple piece of advice: go for something shorter.

7. Notes

1. We were four people: Henrik Bidstrup, Dóra Stefánsdóttir, Martin Østergaard and Mikael Klintorp to do the project report, but this summary is the latter's responsibility.

2. In fact he is constantly looking at the manuscript by means of a teleprompter (an idiot board).

3. Two members of the group, Dóra and Martin, wanted to do an International Development Studies project on Nicaragua as a part of/appendix to this English project. The result, "Paradis i morgen", came nine months later.

4. While we were working with the Contra-speech the Irangate affair came up, and it was evident that The Great Communicator lost a lot of his fluency and his attempts to justify/forget his doings were not convincing.

5. Also reflected in various satires. Answering a question about Reaganomics "Ronald Reagan" said:

"Well, I'd like to keep things simple, so we can all understand. Let's suppose your mum baked a big blueberry pie. Now, that pie represents the wealth of this country. Now take that pie and cut it in half. The top half is defense spending, the bottom half is for domestic programs and the other half is for the national debt."

And in reply to a complaint about the three halves:

"No, you don't seem to understand..."

(Heard in "Uge-revuen" one Saturday in March 1987).

6. See note 3.

7. We tried the approach of Niels Davidsen-Nielsen using the note-sheet inspired tramline system (1984, page 100). It has, however, two disadvantages: First, much information is made implicit, for instance widening of pitch-range, and the relative nature of prosodic phenomena is obscured. Second, it is difficult from a typist's point of view.

8. This definition differs slightly from Niels Davidsen-Nielsen's (1984, p.110). He requires *both* a marked pitch-movement away from the preceding syllable *and* stress; he calls this "secondary accent". In the prehead Niels Davidsen-Nielsen thus allows stressed syllables - if they are pronounced in the same pitch-level as the preceding syllables ("tertiary accent"). We do not find this important since it does not affect our analysis.

9. Therefore proper nouns are not begun with capitals - that would draw attention to an insignificant feature. The personal pronoun "I" is consistently spelled with capital, though.

10. This is not strictly what we found in the speech, there it happens twice that a final consonant is carried to the next word, e.g. "risks and" is pronounced like "risk sand" in paragraph 6.

11. See note 14.

12. The level nucleus can in most cases be regarded as a degenerate (or very narrow) rise since it most frequently occurs where a rising nucleus is expectable (Quirk et al., p. 1600 and 1605).

13. It may seem wrong to use the term contrastive tone with the compound tone types. Crystal and Davy provide no answer for this - actually they only talk about *the nuclear syllable* without paying attention to double nuclei - but Quirk et al. say (p. 1600-1601) that compound nuclei "should be seen as related to contrastive stress".

14. Paragraph 8 of the State of the Union speech is not included in this extract.

15. Much of the power involved in this situation is the possibility for Ronald Reagan to give speeches on television. But it would be naive to think that the authors of the speech have not taken advantage of his power in more subtle ways.

16. Fowler does not mention that it might be equally revealing to look at the optional clause elements actually present in the text and we did not think of this either.

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